

# The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine*

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

Volume IX.  
Number 9.

PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER, 1918.

\$2.00 a year.  
25 cents a copy.

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*Published monthly, except July, August and September, by McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.*

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## Impressions of Britain in War-Time

BY PROFESSOR ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The National Board for Historical Service asked me to go to Great Britain in the spring of this year. From the various universities and colleges of that country also came an invitation to speak under their auspices, the general subject to be that of America and the war, or British-American relations. Accompanied by Dr. Charles Moore, I sailed from New York on a troopship and landed without adventure in Liverpool. "Without adventure" is perhaps an untimely expression, for such a trip is of course spiced by the presence of real danger; however, the submarine did not number us among its victims, although we were attacked. It gives one a sense of high adventure to stand on the deck of a ship and hear the signals of hoarse warning from the siren of a neighboring vessel and to see the destroyers dashing about and dropping depth charges where the lurking submarine is supposed to be. This particular experience gave me new confidence in the American army. A squad of men lined up on the deck under the direction of an officer were going through simple exercises when the danger signal was given and when the destroyers began their search for the skulking enemy; the officer called his men to attention, and they stood rigid and placid as if standing on their own parade ground; discipline and self-control commanded them. I may add here, that on our return trip we were attacked again, and that time one of our ships sank before our eyes, a freight ship, that had fallen slightly behind the rest.

England in war time is, as one might expect, full of interest for the American traveler. Scarcely has one landed when he sees that he is in a country really at war. It was worth a trip across the Atlantic to see the American soldiers marching down the wharves toward the trains that were to take them to their camps, thousands of them tramping quietly along, serious fellows mostly, earnest and sober, all strong and vigorous, giving the impression of immense reserved force. And the sight was especially inspiring as one thought that these sons of the new world had come to Britain to fight by her side for liberty and democracy, the first alien army that had set foot on the soil of England in many centuries. When one leaves the landing-place, however, he sees little of the American soldiers, for they are soon hurried off somewhere. He does see British soldiers everywhere. The main thoroughfares of London have their

thousands, young and middle-aged men in brown uniform home for a rest and recuperation, and also thousands, in London and other cities, wearing the bright blue suits which the wounded wear after they are able to be off their hospital cots. A feeling of unrealness, of a peculiar unfitness, comes over one as he sees these wounded boys in blue walking or hobbling along the streets of Oxford which are commonly filled with light-hearted, care-free students. No town or city is without its soldiers in brown and its soldiers in blue.

And still, as one gets accustomed to the sights, and as the unreality gives way to a feeling of the intense actuality of the thing, he has more than a feeling of dismay or compassion. These wounded or maimed boys are not on the whole, I think, so very sorry for themselves. They are consoled and sustained by the thought that they have offered themselves and have not been wanting. One hospital that I visited was filled with Australians that had come from the other side of the globe to fight for the empire and for decency in the world; but it was not a depressing place, for here as elsewhere one heard the story we all have heard, a story of courage and cheer and uncomplaining patience; and the youngsters I saw were full of good spirits—something to give us new faith in the stability of human nature.

Furthermore, Britain as a whole is not downcast. During my stay there, Hindenburg was busy with those terrific drives against the allied armies on the western front. We all knew that the next edition of the newspaper might announce a new German victory or that the enemy had pierced the allied lines and cut them in two. But there was no evidence of tremulous excitement and no display of emotional consternation. That the allies must and would win in the long run every one appeared to feel, and there was nowhere exhibited the least sign of wavering or of cowardly misgiving. The student of British history is aided in his understanding of the role of Britain in the world and in the upbuilding of her empire by seeing that calm, placid determination and that readiness to move forward to the morrow undeterred by the agonies of to-day. There was, however, more than mere absence of panic or of dismay; the men, and the women too, were, and doubtless are, affirmatively cheerful, though without gaiety, even those who have lost their sons, as so many have; for here I was

told of a boy that died in Mesopotamia, there of a boy that is buried in Gallipoli, and again of a boy that would never come back from France. This cheerfulness is perhaps to be explained by the fact that public sorrowing is seen to be unpatriotic and harmful to the public weal; but I am inclined myself to attribute it to a deep appreciation of the significance of the sacrifice; there is in this cheerful calm a proof that the well-ordered soul can rise above personal sorrow in the presence of a great human calamity and in the uplifting light of a great duty.

There appeared, also, even in those very trying months, less anxious and emotional discussion of the war than is common with us. Any one at all familiar with English literature, even if he does not know English people, will fling aside the notion that these men and women are naturally stolid and incapable of deep feeling or profound, if not ejaculatory, emotion. It seemed as if they were so determined, so set for war to a victorious and righteous end, that they had scarcely time to be bothered by the fluctuations of the battle line. They reminded me of those lines of Tyler's in his "American Literature," where he says of the early New Englanders: "Life to them was a serious business—they meant to attend to it; a grim battle—they meant not to lose it; a sacred opportunity—they hoped not to throw it away." Doubtless part of the placidity is due to the fact that Britain is organized from turret to foundation-stone for war; and those that are not in the battle lines have enough to do without worrying about strategy or being thrown out of their stride by nervous discussion of military maneuvers. What Britain has accomplished in the way of industrial organization for the war is amazing. Maintaining armies on many battle fields, keeping open the lanes of the seven seas, carrying still a large proportion of the commerce of the world that civilians at home and armies may be fed, furnishing France and Italy and other countries with coal that has to be exhumed from her mines, turning out new ships from her yards, making iron and steel for munitions and ordnance not only for herself, but for others, and doing a thousand other things beyond the tasks of peace, she still has found it possible to put millions of men into the army and navy—as many men proportionately as would be taken from our every-day industry if at least twelve or thirteen millions were called to the colors. We must remember, though we give up not one iota of our admiration for American success in putting two million men across the sea, that a large share of them—probably sixty per cent. or more—have been carried in British ships and protected by British men-of-war.

In addition to all this, Britain has greatly increased her agricultural output, for whereas before the war she raised, it is said, not a third of her needed quantity, she will this year produce over two-thirds. No wonder that the average Briton is too busy to talk about war! Of course, this immense industrial activity has been made possible by the use of women in all kinds of work, as well as by thor-

ough organization and the abandonment of useless activity and useless expenditure.

But there is still another fact of interest to historical students. The men I met, while not discussing over-much the actual process of war, were intensely interested in what the war and the victory implied. They were interested in new and weighty world and imperial problems. Possibly I happened to meet more men naturally thus occupied than I should have done under other conditions, but one is impressed with the wealth of Britain in men who take intelligent interest in the big problems of world politics. They have basic knowledge, gathered from the experiences of life in the center of a vast empire, and they approach problems of that kind with a directness and with a realization of immediateness which is uncommon with us. The war can and must be fought out, and there is not much use in discussing it anxiously or in detail; but what about India, Egypt, Ireland, Africa, the organization of the Empire, the relations with the rest of the world, the development of education at home? We are led to see in all this the necessity of our cultivating in America a knowledge of the world at large and a development of a sense of responsibility.

The universities and colleges have been greatly changed. There are few men students in attendance; every one fit to fight is fighting or is buried in Flanders fields or in some distant quarter of the globe. In college halls are posted long rolls of honor, the names of the graduates who have given their lives for the empire and for justice. But interest in education and plans for the future are not lacking; in fact, the development of education for the people and of higher investigation and research is a matter of continuous discussion. Britain is determined, even now in time of war, to see that she does not lag behind in educational reform and progress.

One of the first inquiries the traveler makes on visiting London is as to the amount of damage to property caused by the air raids. He works his own way at night along partly darkened streets, watches the searchlights play upon the clouds, and on reaching his room draws the curtains before turning on his light; but he finds almost no indication of that vast material and military damage which was loudly proclaimed in those funny German newspapers. As near as I could see, the actual injury to property was negligible, though it may have amounted to a good many thousands of pounds in the aggregate. Tales of personal injury or death from the bombs can, of course, be gathered, and among the pathetic stories is that of the distress of the poorer people of East London where the bombs appear to have been dropped with malignant regularity.

Perhaps, after all, the most significant result of a visit to Britain is an appreciation of the desire at the heart of the people to draw close to America. There may be some among us who will attribute this sentiment merely to a need of American assistance. But any person who attributes calculating fear to the

British people is as likely to be mistaken as were the wise Germans who believed four years ago that Britain would not fight, and that her empire would at the first blow fall into rotten pieces about her ears. The average Briton—judging, of course, always from my own experience—wishes for good understanding between the two branches of the English-speaking peoples because he knows that they have the same essential character and are faced with the same big duties. He, better than most of us, knows the horror and agony of war, and he knows that men having the essentially human and democratic attitude toward life must work together harmoniously if civilization is to be reputable and peace reasonably secure. He appreciates fully what America is doing and will do in the

war; but that is not all; he admires and respects American character, the principles of justice and liberalism announced by our government as the guides of conduct in international affairs. There is little or no talk about the power of the mighty empire or of how the fleets and armies of Britain and America could force their own products or their own *Kultur* on the rest of the world. Imperialism with the meaning of exploitation and selfish domination is not in evidence. Any one cherishing or helping to extend distrust of a people whose desire is for fair play and democratic management is helping to destroy the fruits of victory, for victory must produce newer and better international co-operation.

## Nationalism in the Coming Peace Conference

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

### I.

It is told that in the Middle Ages men sometimes prayed that "the Lord give us a good shore," meaning a reasonable amount of wreckage with which to eke out a scanty living. If the statesmen of to-day have prayed for a good shore, there has surely been a bountiful response to their petitions. A year ago the great empire of "all the Russias" was wrecked and ceased to exist as a European power. That profound changes were likely to come in the territorial make-up of the Ottoman empire has been evident for some time. And at the present writing it seems improbable that the ancient state of the Hapsburg dynasty can ever reach the haven of peace intact. On a broad crescent extending for more than three thousand miles from the Arctic Ocean and the Baltic Sea southward and southeastward to the Persian Gulf, the territorial arrangements, as they existed in 1914, have broken down and problems of political reconstruction are in evidence along the entire line.

In the present temper of the Allies the problems that directly concern western Europe can be dealt with readily and expeditiously. There seems to be substantial agreement as to what must be done in the cases of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. There can also be no doubt that "unredeemed Italy" will be united to the Italian state. But the territorial problems that lie along the frontier between eastern and western Europe are of a different and more perplexing type. In several cases it will be difficult to find a principle that can be safely followed in the search for a proper form of settlement; and it will often be still more difficult to apply the rule after it has been found and accepted.

It may be assumed that the principle of nationality will be adopted and followed wherever possible, though other considerations will also have to be taken into account. The so-called principle of "historic rights" cannot always be ignored, but it is often a

dangerous rule to follow. More important are considerations of geography, of natural frontiers, and of economic opportunity. The time will probably come when economic freedom will be fought for with as much determination as political liberty has been striven for in the more recent past. In the coming peace conference the most important consideration of this sort will be access to the ocean. If the new boundaries are to be drawn along the lines that seem most acceptable to the Allies at present, there will be several important states in central Europe, Bohemia, German Austria, Hungary, and possibly Poland, which will be left without seaboard territory. This may be unavoidable, but it will be unfortunate none the less.

The congress of Berlin failed to achieve a lasting peace because it ignored the reasonable demands and nationalistic aspirations of the Balkan peoples. At present the danger appears to be that the coming conference, in its strivings after a just and equitable settlement, may go farther than is expedient in allowing the claims of minor and fragmentary nationalities. As the world is organized to-day, petty independent states may become a menace to the general security in that they provide a temptation to covetous and unscrupulous neighbors. It is to be hoped that the conference, in permitting the establishment of new sovereign states, will recognize such only as have the strength, population, and resources necessary to a self-respecting existence. Such a policy can, of course, not be carried out consistently; but it may sometimes be possible to lay down conditions which will permit a small people (like the Welsh, for instance) to exist as a part of some larger unit without being forced to surrender its traditions and its national mode of life.

### II.

In applying the principle of nationality the conference will find it necessary to deal with three



groups of problems: (1) there are nations not yet completely unified that demand the reunion of fragments across the border to the national state; (2) there are old submerged peoples which at one time enjoyed political independence and which call for a renewal of this right; (3) there are other peoples which have never been organized as separate states, but which now ask for membership in the family of nations. In this third group may be included certain races which at one time enjoyed self-government in a partial or rudimentary form, but have for centuries been associated with some stronger and more aggressive neighbor.

To the first group belong such problems as Alsace-Lorraine, North Sleswick, "unredeemed" Italy, German Austria, Macedonia, Bessarabia, Bukowina, Transylvania, and the Greek settlements in Asia Minor. The world is prepared for an extension of Italy into the Trentino and around the head of the Adriatic Sea; but the terms of the armistice offered to Austria seem to indicate that the Roman government would not be averse to annexing certain parts of the Dalmatian coast. For several centuries the eastern shore of the Adriatic was controlled by the Venetian republic. About one-tenth of the population of Dalmatia is still Italian, the remainder belonging chiefly to the Slavic race. As the larger part of the Italian element occupies a fringe along the coast, it may be possible to draw a boundary that will satisfy the demands of nationality in a reasonable degree. The question is whether such an arrangement will be satisfactory to the Jugo-Slavs, who may probably resent the loss of certain important sea-ports.

The Roumanian government is quite sure to demand Bessarabia, Transylvania, and perhaps a part of Bukowina, the addition of which would double the size and strength of the kingdom. It is unfortunate that all these regions are hopelessly mixed in their populations; Transylvania in particular will prove a problem because of its strong minorities of Hungarians and Germans. But the majority is of the Roumanian race, and probably desires union with the Roumanian state.

Our government apparently stands committed to an enlarged Roumania, but thus far no expression on the Macedonian problem has been published. Macedonia is claimed or coveted by all its neighbors. Its ethnology is so involved that a satisfactory settlement is well nigh impossible; and yet there can be no real peace in the Balkans until Macedonia has been parcelled out and the boundaries are made to coincide as nearly as possible with the frontiers of nationality. For the sake of future security it may even be expedient to take some account of the Bulgarian contention, though there will surely be no disposition to reward the subjects of the wily Ferdinand. The problem is further complicated by a common desire to possess the port of Saloniki, which is of great importance to all the Balkan peoples.

In the case of the Greeks the principle of national-

ity can be applied to a limited extent only. Greece has a good claim to the islands of the Aegean Sea, and as there seems to be a disposition to deprive Turkey of all subject lands, the conference may permit the Greeks to annex some of the Ionian lands in Asia Minor. There is this difficulty, however, that extensive annexations east of the Aegean will create a frontier which is not easily defended. At all events, the ancient Hellenic settlements on the shores of the Black Sea appear to be permanently lost to the parent country.

On several occasions English statesmen have expressed themselves in favor of the restoration of Sleswick to Denmark. In this way the Kiel Canal could be brought under international control, as this waterway runs for some distance along the border of Sleswick and terminates in the Baltic a few miles north of the old boundary. Unfortunately, Denmark can claim the entire duchy on the basis of historic rights only. The northern half of Sleswick is chiefly Danish in population, while the southern half is almost exclusively German. In 1886 Prussia promised that the Danish districts should be allowed to decide by a referendum whether they would remain Prussian or be reunited to Denmark, but this pledge was repudiated twelve years later. It has been reported that the government of Denmark has quite recently called upon Prussia to carry out its pledge; but the report still lacks confirmation.

An unexpected outcome of the war may be the more complete unification of Germany. Recent press dispatches report that a new government has been set up in Vienna for German Austria, or South Germany, as it has also been called. South Germany as an independent state would not hold a very advantageous position among the countries of Europe. It would be shut off from the sea (unless Croatia should actually join it), and its population, about 8,000,000, would be less than that of any of its prospective neighbors, except Switzerland. It seems inevitable that in the course of time the Austro-German states will drift into a closer relationship with the German empire, which may in this way acquire a considerable measure of additional strength.

### III.

Among the historic peoples that may again be allowed to assume an independent existence, the more important are Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The Allies are committed to the establishment of a Czechoslovak state (which means a greater Bohemia), and an independent Poland has been promised by both belligerent groups. In the case of Bohemia the problem is a strong German element occupying the districts touching the German border. It is reported that these people wish to be joined to Bavaria, Saxony, or Silesia; but the Czechs object that all these territories were originally theirs, and that the Germans were brought in as immigrants for garrison purposes. It is further important to remember that Bohemia is separated from Germany by mountain



barriers forming a natural frontier. It is unlikely, therefore, that Bohemia can be induced to part with her German fringe, though the situation is one that is quite sure to mean trouble in the future.

In the case of Poland, and also of Hungary, the problem is a matter of expediency in drawing boundaries. Hungary will be asked to part with territories which have long been hers and which she will surrender very reluctantly. On the other hand, Poland will ask for territories that the conference may not be disposed to grant. The Vistula is a Polish river to its very mouth; even in its lower course it runs through a country largely inhabited by a Polish population. If Poland is given both banks of the Vistula to its mouth, it will have an outlet to the sea through the port of Danzig. But such an arrangement would cut Prussia in two, and would probably not be conducive to future peace in Europe. In this case the principle of nationality may have to yield to expediency and "historic rights."

#### IV.

Of the third group, the best examples are Finland and the Ukraine. Though Russia is still a country of vast resources and immense possibilities, it is not likely that she will be able to re-establish herself very soon as an important factor in European diplomacy, and these two countries, Finland and the Ukraine, will probably be allowed to continue as independent sovereignties. Whether the Ukrainians and the Cossacks are anxious to maintain a national existence separate from the Great Russians with whom they have been associated for centuries is not known; but as conditions are at present in the land of the Bolsheviks, they are probably not eager for a reunion.

Finland was born in a violent social revolution. About eighty per cent. of the Finnish population are Finns, a people of Turanian origin; of the remainder the greater part are Swedes, whose ancestors came to the country centuries ago. Most of the Swedes live on a narrow fringe of coast land in the west and the southwest. Though in the minority, the Swedes have to a large extent controlled the country, and in the social upheaval of 1917 they were found on the conservative and victorious side. The feeling between the two races is somewhat bitter, and it has been suggested that the Swedes of the upper Bothnian coast may ask to have their country transferred to Sweden. The Finns, on the other hand, demand an extension of their territory eastward to Lake Onega and northward to the Arctic, in order that all the Finns may, as far as possible, be included in the new state, and that it may have an outlet on the Arctic. Russia can scarcely afford to yield to this demand, as it will deprive her of the control of the Murman railway and of an ice-free port at its terminal; but whether in her present disorganized state she will be able to resist successfully remains to be seen.

South of the Gulf of Finland lie the Baltic provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Kurland, a region to which the principle of nationality is scarcely applicable. To set up each of these as an independent

state would scarcely be wise, as they would inevitably be reduced to a vassal position by Russia or Germany. A Baltic federation in some sort of an alliance with Finland and Scandinavia has been suggested; but such an arrangement would be without a national basis. The provinces are inhabited by a variety of races, though two peoples are dominant—the Finns in the north and the Letts in the south. Perhaps it would be practical to join the Estonians to their Finnish brethren north of the Gulf, and thus strengthen a state that will need every available resource.

There seems to be a movement among the Letts of Kurland and southern Livonia for a separate Lettish state, but at the most such a state could scarcely count more than 2,000,000 inhabitants. It would seem advisable for the Letts to join forces with their kinsmen and neighbors, the Lithuanians. The future of Lithuania has not been much discussed; a Lithuanian state is within the realm of the possible, but it is not a promising solution. Possibly the Letts and the Lithuanians could be induced to renew their old relationship with the Poles; such a union would add greatly to the strength of the Polish state, and would give it a satisfactory outlet on the Baltic.

The Allies are also committed to the organization of a Jugo-Slav state, which, if it can be made to include all the Serbo-Croat peoples, will have a fairly extensive territory and a population of about 12,000,000. Reports from the Adriatic coast are, however, somewhat conflicting; the Croats appear to be debating whether to join in the new movement or to seek annexation to Italy or to German Austria. The Jugo-Slavs have an opportunity at present to establish a real nation and an important state, but whether all the six or seven states and provinces can be made to enter the union remains to be seen.

The conference will also be asked to establish an Arab state, to create a government for Syria, to organize a commonwealth in Palestine, to settle the Albanian question, and to determine the status of Armenia; but these regions will probably not be organized as independent sovereignties. It will be necessary in all cases, however, to draw the boundaries with the utmost care so as to include as large a part of the people concerned as possible without at the same time including too many hostile elements. When the conference adjourns there will still be Swedes in Finland, Poles in Germany, Germans in Bohemia, Slavs in Italy, Hungarians in Rumania, Greeks in Turkey, Kurds in Armenia, and a variety of races in the Holy Land; but it is likely that the boundaries will, after all, conform more closely to the actual frontiers of nationality than ever before in history.

The awakening of interest in Civil War history is shown by the many special studies of Civil War times which are appearing in historical magazines. Among such may be noted the paper by Lester B. Shippee entitled, "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota," which appears in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, Volume II, Number 6.

## The Railroads of the United States and the War

BY PROFESSOR T. W. VAN METRE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.

The railroads of the United States were encountering serious difficulties before the country entered the war against Germany. The conflict in Europe, from the beginning, had caused a large demand for foodstuffs and war materials of all kinds, and taking advantage of the demand, the merchants and manufacturers of the United States had built up a large export trade. Great quantities of goods were delivered to the railroads to be carried to eastern seaports for shipment to Europe. Unfortunately the amount of export traffic accepted by the railroads was greatly in excess of what could be carried across the Atlantic by the available tonnage of merchant shipping, and it was not long before thousands of cars loaded with export freight crowded the railroad yards of the eastern ports. The stream of eastbound cars of export traffic did not stop when the yards at the seaports became congested, and eventually the freight yards of cities many miles from the coast were likewise crowded with loaded cars waiting in line, as it were, for their turn to proceed to an ocean terminal for unloading. This congestion of eastern yards with export freight not only resulted in a serious shortage of cars, but also interfered with the expeditious movement of domestic traffic.

During the winter of 1916-17 the car shortage was acute and the railroad service was severely crippled. Eastern railroads were compelled to place "embargoes" on various kinds of traffic; that is, they refused to accept from shippers or from connecting lines traffic destined to points where the congestion made delivery a difficult matter. On western lines, where there was little congestion, the local freight service deteriorated because of the lack of cars. Many cars of western lines stood loaded on the sidings in the east, and when western cars were unloaded they were often retained by eastern lines for local use, instead of being returned according to the rules of the American Railway Association. It was not until the Interstate Commerce Commission exerted its authority that the eastern lines were brought to a more strict observance of the rules concerning the use of "foreign" equipment.

Immediately after war was declared in April, 1917, the Council of National Defence, realizing the importance of improving the transportation service, requested Daniel Willard, the chairman of the Committee of Transportation and Communication of the Advisory Commission of the Council, "to call upon the railroads so to organize their business as to lead to the greatest expedition in the movement of freight." Previous to the declaration of war, at Mr. Willard's suggestion, the American Railway Association had named a special Committee on National Defence to co-operate with the government, and this committee had already made plans, according to which the gov-

ernment, in case of war, should receive preferential railway service. Mr. Willard now called the railway executives of the country to Washington, and on April 11 nearly seven hundred officials signed a resolution pledging themselves to operate the railroads of the country as a "continental railway system" during the war "merging . . . all their merely individual and competitive activities in the effort to produce a maximum of national transportation efficiency." An executive committee of five—made up of the chief executives of five great railroads—was named, the committee being known as the "Railroads' War Board." To this board was entrusted the general supervision of the railroad business of the country.

The Railroads' War Board made a praiseworthy effort to improve the railway service, and in many respects it achieved an amazing degree of success. Without legal authority to compel co-operation, it called upon the individual carriers for voluntary effort. It organized car pools for the more equitable distribution and more rapid movement of cars, it carried on a great educational campaign to induce shippers and consignees to load and unload cars promptly; it encouraged economy and efficiency by suggesting the consolidation of duplicate passenger services, the elimination of special services, the heavier loading of cars, and the improvement of train schedules. For the most part these suggestions were readily accepted, and the traffic statistics of 1917 showed a steadily increasing efficiency of the railroad service.

Notwithstanding the increased efficiency, the conditions of railroad transportation in the fall of 1917 did not appear greatly better than in the preceding fall, and the coming of the winter season with its difficulties of operation was looked forward to with no little apprehension. Little had been done, and little could be done in a single summer, to increase the facilities of the railroads. And while the existing facilities were being used with greater efficiency than ever before the amount of rail traffic had increased so greatly that the operating problem was as difficult as ever. The military operations of the government—the construction of camps and the concentration of troops and supplies—had caused the business of the carriers to expand at a rapid rate. While the war traffic was growing, little or no effort was made to curtail the amount of ordinary industrial traffic and the burden of the railroads became constantly heavier.

Though the Railroads' War Board was doing much—probably as much as such a board could accomplish—it was not doing all that it was possible to do to relieve the situation. There was one outstanding improvement which could yet be made in railway operation—the complete unification of all the rail-

road facilities of the country, the operation of all lines as one great system. In spite of the resolutions signed by the seven hundred executives on April 11, the operation of the railroads had not been "co-ordinated in a continental railway system," and the "merely individual and competitive activities" of the various lines had not been "merged." Common use of tracks, terminals, and other equipment was not in practice; each carrier endeavored, wherever possible, to retain the competitive advantages which it had gained over its rivals in the years gone by.

The chief reason given for the failure of the railroads to unify their operations was that they were forbidden to do so by the terms of the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. As a matter of fact, neither of these laws forbade the common use of the physical facilities of railways, though they forbade the financial co-operation and combination of the carriers, which, in ordinary times, would be necessary for the adoption of a comprehensive plan for operating unity. During the summer of 1917 the Railroads' War Board had secured a certain amount of co-operation among the carriers, and finally, late in November, as conditions became more critical, it secured the voluntary adoption of a plan for the pooling of "all available facilities on all railroads east of Chicago . . . to the extent necessary to furnish maximum freight movement." A committee was named, with headquarters at Pittsburgh, which was to direct the operations of the pooled lines. Had the War Board, months earlier, secured an agreement for the actual combination of all railway facilities and their operation by a duly authorized body, it is probable that private railroad operation would not have been discontinued. But it was not possible to secure such unity by voluntary action.

By December it had become apparent that radical action was necessary to save the transportation service from collapse. On December 5 the Interstate Commerce Commission, in a special report to Congress, reviewed the entire situation, and recommended either that (1) the President assume control of the railways, as he was authorized to do under the Act of August 29, 1916, and operate them for the duration of the war, or that (2) the legal obstacles to unified operation by the carriers themselves be removed, and that the government give the railroads whatever financial assistance they needed. Commissioner McChord, in a separate statement, asserted that even with the suspension of the anti-trust legislation, it would be too much to expect the railroads to submerge their long-standing competitive differences. He recommended that the government take direct charge of the railways, and accomplish by compulsory methods the unification so vitally necessary.

The policy of complete government control had been followed both in Germany and England since the beginning of the war. In Germany the lines owned and operated by the various states of the Empire had been taken over by the Imperial Government and operated as one great system. In Great

Britain, the railroads, privately owned as in the United States, had, at the beginning of the war, passed immediately under the control of the government in accordance with the terms of a law passed in 1871.

On December 26 President Wilson issued a proclamation providing for his assumption of control of the railroads of the United States at twelve o'clock, December 28. He named William G. McAdoo, Secretary of Treasury, as Director General of Railroads. The President had decided that railroad unity could be accomplished only by government interference, and acting under the authority bestowed upon him by Congress more than a year previously he placed the entire railroad system of the country under the control of a single administrator.

Mr. McAdoo, for the time being, retained intact the operating organization of the roads. He took steps, however, to accomplish the purpose of the President's action, and as rapidly as possible he endeavored to weld the many lines over which he had control into a single great system, employing their facilities in the manner which produced a maximum of transportation service, without regard to the individual welfare of a single line. He divided the country into districts, and put an experienced railway official in charge of each great district. After a few months he relieved the railway presidents of their duties as operating heads of the railroads, and appointed in their place "Federal Managers." Some of the Federal Managers were chosen from among the railway presidents, in which case they were required to surrender their positions with the railroad corporations and become solely the employees of the government. The presidents who retained their connection with the corporations owning the railroads were required to surrender all duties and responsibilities in connection with the operation of the railroads. A Federal Manager was frequently given supervision over lines or parts of lines which had had no previous financial or operating relations with one another. The identity of individual lines and systems was disregarded.

The wages of virtually all railway employees were increased, and to offset the greatly enlarged costs of operation occasioned by this advancement of wages, as well as by the increased cost of materials and supplies, Mr. McAdoo brought about a large increase of freight rates and passenger fares.

While the railroad service has become more expensive under government control, the service has unquestionably shown improvement in comparison with the conditions that existed in the fall of 1917. The unification of the physical facilities of the lines has been carried out to a marked extent, and more is being done to bring about the maximum use of the facilities available. Moreover, the Railroad Administration has made provision for the extension and improvement of railway equipment, and has endeavored to encourage the use of interior waterways for the purpose of relieving the railroads. Unity of



operation has been productive of beneficial results, and its manifest advantages insure the permanence of many salient features of the methods adopted by the government.

Though the railroads are being operated by the Federal Government, they are still owned by the corporations to which they belonged when the government assumed charge. In accordance with the terms of a law approved March 21, 1918, each carrier is to be compensated for the use of its property by the payment per year of "a sum equivalent as nearly as may be to its average annual railway operating income for the three years ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and seventeen." The exact terms of compensation are to be stated in contracts made by the government and the individual railroad companies. Moreover, this law provides that Federal control "shall continue for and during the period of the war and for a reasonable time thereafter, which

shall not exceed one year and nine months next following the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace."

Though the law contemplates the return of the railroads to their owners there are many persons who believe that the government should purchase the roads and continue their operation. It is not unlikely that there will be a great controversy over government ownership of railroads soon after the war has ended. Though it is probable that private operation will be resumed, it is by no means certain, and even if private operation is restored it is reasonably certain that it will be under conditions different from those existing before the war. The "railroad problem" promises to be one of the most interesting and important public questions to be solved when the war is over.

## The New Birth of Islam

BY PROFESSOR A. T. OLMSTEAD, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

In the autumn of 1916, a bored newspaper correspondent at Washington amused his readers with an account of a new power somewhere in Arabia whose request for recognition had caused our Department of State no little search to discover its exact location. Shortly after, professional orientalist were afforded that first of all proofs that a state actually existed, the reproduction of postage stamps marked "Hijaz Post."<sup>1</sup> Since then, the metropolitan papers have very occasionally devoted two or three lines to note the advance made by the sultan of that country in the arid country east of the Jordan, and the periodicals have had but little more.

Prophecy has never been more at a discount than at the present, and yet we may venture the prediction that here we have an event of world meaning, that problems are raised which America must aid in settling, that the historians of the future may see in the results of this event one of the most important effects of the war. Americans have devoted little enough attention to the Near Eastern question; and the Arabian phase of it is virtually unknown.<sup>2</sup>

What has happened is no less than the rebirth of Islam. We all know from our school books that Islam began with Mohammed in Mecca, that under his immediate successors it conquered the greater part of the civilized world with a rapidity never equalled before or since, and that within the century there was

developed a civilization without a contemporaneous rival. We may further remember that the original Arab rulers were supplanted by Persians, Moors, and Turks, and that the civilization was first transformed and then began to decline. Here our knowledge is likely to end. Few, indeed, of us realize that Islam is one of the most potent forces in the world to-day, that it counts its adherents by the hundred millions, that in the waste places of the earth it converts its hundreds where Christianity makes its tens, that its followers occupy a belt of the best territory on earth, extending from Morocco and the Sudan to China and the Philippines. What happens in Mecca becomes matter for more than amusement when we realize that hundreds of thousands of men under our own flag feel exactly the same toward it as other millions of our fellow-citizens feel toward Rome.

Contrary to general belief, the "Unspeakable Turk" has his good points. He is a soldier without superior, has much administrative ability, and, where he has not been corrupted by intermarriage with other races or by so-called "Liberalism" in the guise of the pro-German "Young Turk," he is man for man the equal of his western brother of similar social standing. Unfortunately, he is a northerner ruling southerners. He is slow, stolid, solid, rather contemptuous of the man from the south who is quicker in guile as in the field of the intellect. He takes over and patronizes, by virtue of being a better soldier and ruler, a culture he is himself incapable of producing. To the man of the south, he is a barbarian from the north, speaking a language with no connection with the sacred language of the Prophet and of his Book, clinging to customs which are only nominally glossed over with the Sacred Law, no fit suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII (1917), 87f.

<sup>2</sup> The main facts are given in "The Arab Uprising," part 209 of the *London Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*; some of the most important documents are to be found in the *New York Times Current History*, V. 85f.; VI, 306 ff.



cessor to the Prophet. The Arab has never forgotten that his was and is the sacred language, that the Koran can rightly be read only in it, that from his race came the Prophet, that in his land are to be found the four holy cities, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron, and that all the cities most intimately connected with the glories of the Caliphate—Alexandria, Damascus, Bagdad—still speak Arabic. He would be more than human did he not look forward to the day when Islam would be redeemed, when once more from Mecca would the law go forth.

In the eighties of the last century, Islam seemed about to follow Turkey into dissolution. That it did not do so was largely the work of a modern Louis XI, Abdul Hamid, the "Red Sultan." It was he who first discovered the worth to the state of a pan-Islam in which Constantinople might supplant Mecca as Rome had supplanted Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. History might already have been profoundly different, had this ideal continued pure and undefiled. We cannot tell to what degree the Hungarian writers were responsible in transforming the pan-Islamic into a pan-Turan movement, but this was what happened; and if Hungarian, Finn, and Russian Tartar were thereby won to Turkish support, the Arab-speaking world was definitely alienated. Rebellion became chronic in Yemen, the most desirable part of the Arabian peninsula, and army after army was lost by battle, treachery, or disease. The Turkish Revolution for the moment seemed to check the Arab movement, but the era of universal good feeling was soon destroyed by the attempted Ottomanization of the Empire by the chauvinism of the Young Turks. When the Great War began, the Arabic-speaking peoples were ripe for revolt.

Before any overt act occurred, the Turkish officials seized and killed the Syrian leaders in several cities. Among the patriots thus executed were members of the tribe of the Sheriff of Mecca, a descendant of the Prophet and the official head of the sacred city of Mecca. Already predisposed to revolt by the "Liberalism" of Enver Pasha and his colleagues of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was suspected to be largely controlled by non-Muslim members, by the scarcely concealed agnosticism of the remainder, and by the deliberate abrogation of provisions of the Sacred Law laid down in the Koran itself, the Arabs were at last provoked beyond endurance. In a ringing address to "all our Muslim brethren," Husein, the son of Ali, appealed to Allah as judge in the words of the Book, pointed out the reasons why Mecca had in the past recognized the Turkish government, mourned the loss of Muslim prestige caused by the Young Turk fiascos in Tripoli and the Balkans and its present perilous position through being plunged into the horrors of this war. Turning to internal conditions, he condemned the destruction of the inhabitants of the provinces remaining, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, and the horrors of deportation, of the murder of leading Muslims who are listed by name, of the punishment by banishment and con-

fiscation of the innocent families of the victims. Then he told of the revenge taken for the revolt of Mecca by the Turkish troops in the garrison, how a shell fell but four feet from the very house of Allah, how the rug which covered the sacred Black Stone was fired and of the despair of the pious as they saw it, of the killing of worshippers every day within the sacred precincts until worship was perforce discontinued. No westerner can realize the thrill of horror such sacrilege must cause to every true Muslim. Islam had not risen when the Turks had preached the holy war, for it was known that this had been done at the dictation of their infidel masters. Henceforth, there could be no doubt as to where every true Muslim would take his stand.

The cup of Young Turk iniquity was full, and on the sixteenth of November, 1916, Husein, the son of Ali, was declared Sultan of the Hejaz, and was promptly recognized by the Entente Powers. Future action was along two lines, the freeing of the Hejaz from the last remnants of Turkish control, and the following up of the Mecca Railroad which had formed the one line of communication of the Turks. By operations east of the Dead Sea, his troops did much to render impossible the Turko-German advance against Egypt, and later they did their part toward the redemption of Jerusalem by drawing off troops at a time when these were desperately needed by the Turks. In the last month, the Arabs have again assisted in clearing the remainder of Palestine from Turkish rule.

Such is the present situation. From the military point of view, it is changing daily, fortunately to the advantage of the Allies. From the political viewpoint, we may already see, at least in outline, the main problems we must solve. These are primarily two, for the situation is not unlike that of the States of the Church in European history. For the first, a new state has come into the world, and, whatever aid it may receive from the Entente Powers, it must be independent in every sense, or Muslim thought will be outraged. At present, it occupies only the Hejaz, the strip along the west coast of Arabia which has the holy cities, plus a line of advance up the Mecca Railroad into Syria. Yemen is in anarchy with the chance that that anarchy will be closed with some sort of British control. The center of the peninsula is ruled by emirs who may admit some sort of superior honor to the new sultan, but who will not surrender local autonomy without a struggle. Some are even pro-Turkish in their jealousy of local rivals. The wandering tribes are now pro-British, but are too fickle to be trusted. Oman and the other states along the seaboard are more or less definitely under British protection. Palestine, Babylonia, and half of Mesopotamia are actually administered by British soldiers, and next door, across the narrow Red Sea, is Egypt under British occupation. India with its hundred million Muslims is likewise British, however hidden this fact may be by native rulers with splendid courts. General Maude in his proclamation after

the capture of Bagdad expressed the "hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth, and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord, . . . that you may be united with your kinsmen in north, east, south, and west, in realizing the aspirations of your race." Whether the coming true of these aspirations will be permitted by considerations of practical politics is a more difficult question to answer. The pure Arab is an extreme individualist, and there is much the same spirit among the others who speak Arabic. Among the latter, we have the added complication of many Arabic-speaking Christians, heretic sects which can barely be called Muslim, the conflicting interests of Christian and Jew and Muslim in Palestine, and especially in Jerusalem, where the site of the former temple of Solomon is now the third most holy Muslim site, guarded against profanation from non-Muslims by Muslim troops under the orders of General Allenby even more carefully than in the days of Turkish control.

Whatever may be said as to the temporal power of the Sultan of the Hejaz, his spiritual position is a portent for the future. The present Sultan of Turkey is still the Caliph, the "Successor of the Prophet." He is now completely discredited, and not even a separate peace with the Allies can restore his prestige to the Muslim world. Historically, his title is of more than doubtful legality. That legality has been already challenged by Muslim publicists, and the strong protest of the Ulema of Mecca, probably the most respected body of theologians and jurists in the Muslim world, closes with the sinister request that their opponents consider the question "What is the Caliphate and what are its conditions?" and "As to the question of the Caliphate, in spite of all that is known of the deplorable condition in which it is situated at the present moment, we have not interfered with it at all, and it will remain as it is pending the final decision of the whole Muslim world." The significance of the last few words cannot be exaggerated. It means a revolution in Islam.

Meanwhile, the Sultan of the Hejaz is the most observed of all Muslims. Thus far, his actions have been such as to secure the respect and admiration of all who fight for freedom. For the first time in centuries, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca has been conducted without robbery and slaughter on the road. Mecca has at last something like modern sanitation, and travelers need no longer hasten their steps to reach the rail head at Medina before the coming of the pilgrim caravan and the concomitant cholera. Public schools, public works, a newspaper, the use of foreign and Christian agencies, even to the Red Cross, all are to be noted.

Last summer a politician of national prominence delivered from a Chautauqua platform an address intended to describe the causes of the war. In the course of his remarks, he went out of the way to declare Mohammed a "fakir," and followed this up by an attack on his religion, the violence of which was equalled only by its historical inaccuracy. Only the other day, the funny man of a metropolitan paper sought to raise a laugh by the spectacle of Mohammed moving Rhineward. Christians have learned to rejoice with Jews that there is hope of a "Return to Zion." We ought to have no more difficulty in recognizing the good in Islam.

In the last analysis, it is still the Golden Rule which measures a man and a religion. We all know how "Christian" Germany was responsible for the murder or deportation of millions of unfortunate Armenians. On the borders of the desert east of Palestine, Faisul, son and general of the Hejaz Sultan, found some of these unfortunates the Young Turks had left to perish. He freed them, sent out of the country such as wished, and aided them all to the best of his ability. An Armenian Pasha in Egypt sent him this telegram: "Every Armenian throughout the world is to-day the ally of the Arab movement." To a similar word of appreciation, Sultan Husein replied: "Faisul, in assisting the oppressed, has only performed one of the first duties of our religion and of the Arab's faith. I say with confidence and pride that the Armenian race and other races in similar plight are regarded by us as partners in our fortune in weal and woe. We ask God before everything to give us strength to enable us to do them helpful service by which to prove to the world the true feelings of Islam, whose watchword is freedom."

With such a confession of faith, we need not wonder that of the two hundred and fifty million Muslims of the world, a bare five per cent. is on the side of our opponents, that nearly the entire remainder, before the breakdown of Russia, was definitely pledged to the cause of liberty. Can we make such a showing? There are many followers of Mohammed who to-day are marching Rhineward, but they are fighting side by side with our own boys and for the same cause of freedom.

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The October number of the *World's Work* is especially devoted to the Russian situation and to the Czecho-Slovak movement, publishing, as it does, J. B. W. Gardiner's article on "Save Russia or Face Defeat," and "Our Military Progress in Russia," V. G. Idin's "Why Put Russian Relief on a Trade Basis," an anonymous article on "The Bolsheviks," George Adams' "The Anabasis of Czechoslovaks," "Czechoslovakia, the Nation without a Country, Its History and Future," and the interview with President Masaiyk.

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The *Illustrated London News* for October 12 has some especially good illustrations of Damascus.

## Still Another Editorial Man of Straw

BY LOUISE I. CAPEN, GRADUATE SCHOOL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

"Some millions of young Americans sit day after day within walls that hear no echoes, in fact, take no cognizance that such a thing as a Western Front exists in the world. They are the only walls of that description in all America. . . . It is an old and melancholy subject—this scholasticism of most of our public school instruction, its obstinate detachment from life. Boring children and then complaining that they will not learn properly is not educating them."

Many must, by now, have read the above quotation and—accusation. It comes from the editorial column of the *Saturday Evening Post*, of October 26, 1918, and is hurled directly at the so-called "colorless" instruction found to-day in our public school history classes.

"If you are of age," continues the author, "probably you do not realize that the fighting round Santiago, Cuba, is the latest military exploit which is brought to the attention of the coming generation by those who are specially trained and paid to engage its attention." It is hard not to be in a whimsical mood when I reflect that I have a grenade to hurl at my "literary critic." I wonder if he has been in a history class since the days of old Santiago, to witness the progressive strides of historical "methods"? Does he, I wonder, appreciate the endless activity of a quite up-to-date "social recitation"?

The teaching of history is a very recent addition to education. Originally, it was taught to the sons of kings and to great persons, in order to give them a preparation in the art of governing. It was a sacred science reserved for the future rulers of states, a science for princes—not subjects. Under the pressure of public opinion, it was introduced into education in the nineteenth century. At that time the subject was imposed upon teachers untrained and indifferent to the knowledge of social phenomena, and hence taught only because it was prescribed. The sole motive and guide of such instruction was always an accident. Since the day history was thus dragged into the realms of "readin', writin' and 'rithmetic," it has plodded along a steady path while, figuratively speaking, "great quantities of water have flowed under London Bridge." A system of historic pedagogy has been devised and the instructor has been emancipated in the loss of antiquated methods. To-day, with Vesuvic eagerness, history is heralded with newborn national approval, and its instructors are urged to shake off the chains of the past and "find points of departure in the living bustling world to which pupils' interests naturally run."

Quite conceivably a day may come when, thanks to the Renaissance of the Great War, special Schools of History may be formed. It is an obsolete illusion to suppose that the distinguishing feature of history is to be good for nothing. It has an indirect utility in

enabling us to understand the present existing state of affairs in so far as they are explained by their past origin. History is indispensable for the preparation of the millions of political and social citizens turned out into the world. Their ability to observe and judge the facts of current events is sufficient foundation for their enrollment in the American nation. It must also be kept in mind that history is an excellent instrument of culture. The practice of historic investigation is a pursuit extremely healthful for the mind, *freeing it from the disease of credulity*. Napoleon Bonaparte's last "Instructions for the King of Rome" were: "Let my son often read and *reflect* on history; this is the only true philosophy."

In the actual class period sobriety is imperative. The far-reaching results of the historic, economic, and civic preparation of the youth are stupendous. At present, when the glittering footlights of popularity are turned on this subject, it is necessary for the instructor to resist a temptation to conduct a vaudeville performance. "Some weeks ago," writes the editor, "we saw a big brown tent pitched a few rods off the main street of a village. The banner over the entrance said Chautauqua. The tent was packed and overflowing with an audience listening to a young man in khaki. We saw dozens of children sitting breathless—there a boy with parted lips, here a girl whose slim throat contracted with emotion. But next week those same children would sit half stupefied over a colorless account of the War of 1812." Sensitive listening ears will appreciate the fact that to train minds, to produce thinkers, to create citizens, to instill culture and to travel among nations, past and present—are achievements that recommend careful development rather than acrobatic performances in history.

Moreover, I contend that the average student of history is alert and attentive—and I speak from experience. Herein, perhaps, lies proof to alleviate the hopeless despondency of the author quoted above. For two successive periods (one hundred minutes), I kept careful notes during the recitations, in preparation for this paper. We of the American history class (high school seniors) were busied with that portion of our early colonial history that revolves around "King Philip's War" and "Bacon's Rebellion"—ancient topics, indeed, if they are considered chronologically with Santiago. The following were contributions and discussions *voluntarily presented* by students, thought "to be asleep during long hours of uninteresting, dry reiteration." William Moore's, "Indian Wars of the United States," printed in 1850, served to bring the New England Indians to the very doors of "Room 9." The book was a family relic, dilapidated and genuine, and the student who brought it pointed out her special interest in its old engraved



illustrations, hand-painted. Someone had spent a vacation near Deerfield, and we had a vivid description given of the tomahawk-marked doors of its New England colonial dwellings. An original account (taken from A. B. Hart's "Source Book of American History") of the "Destruction of Deerfield" was read aloud. Mention was made of Washington Irving's sketches, "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket." An account of the career of Nathaniel Bacon was followed by a lively discussion of *traits of American character*. The chances of Virginia's popularity with the King, after her Rebellion, were carefully weighed. Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Gray Champion" told us the story of one of the "regicides."

We inevitably take up a consideration of the advance lesson under the technical title of "supervised study." By means of this method difficult words are correctly pronounced, places and sources of research are pointed out, facts of importance are emphasized, and avenues of thought are opened. Thus the ambitious pupil can forge ahead; the careful, conscientious one is saved many an unnecessary stumble; and the lazily indolent has no excuse left in the form of, "I couldn't understand the book."

In the face of all this, time is reserved for the discussion of daily events. Each student is requested to spend at least twenty minutes each night with a newspaper. The subsequent excited but orderly consideration of modern events, that descends daily upon newspaper topics, would, I am certain, satisfy the most up-to-date mental acrobat. Nothing escapes us. We endeavor to talk intelligently and with deliberation. The instructor watches carefully any tendencies toward superficiality, or talk at random. In the two periods mentioned, I noted with interest a satisfactory settlement of the following puzzling questions: (1) Why were the Czecho-Slovaks recognized by the United States nationally? (2) What is the true origin of Uncle Sam? (3) Are we one of the Allies or a co-belligerent? (4) Can our President leave the country during times of war? (5) Why does law forbid the defacement of trade-marks?

On November 8 I witnessed undeniable evidence of the fact that "the echoes of Metz and St. Quentin" had penetrated the walls of the schoolroom, as

well as the minds of its occupants. Our pseudo-peace celebration served to send these boys and girls back into the trenches. They have in charge two large maps, whereon the allied advances were marked with "pegs." On this particular morning they lost no time in claiming Sedan, which place was found without search, for it had previously been chosen as the next objective point (by these strategic keepers of the pegs).

Whatever grave doubts may have existed, there is, at present, no question but that the historical field now entered by the public school student is distinctly modern. A background has been prepared to meet the daily needs of young America, and we are striving to make plain the meaning of American *democracy* and *citizenship*, in order that they may know "whence we came and whither we are tending." Roots of sentiment are very old, and no people ever wholly forgets its past. Modern Americanism was born in the hopes, aspirations, ambitions, policies and purposes that were brought across the Atlantic, not in the holds of ships, but in the hearts of men. Looking down upon the entrances of this last war into history, one can see patriotic propaganda in the teaching programs of the army of history instructors. A special campaign was made to mobilize its ranks in the courses of current events. It has proceeded upon the assumption that there is a necessary and vital connection between the might and enthusiasm of the present only when it has been clearly defined and well understood by a study of the crusades of the past.

From now on, instructors of history will take the lead in sending citizens into the world. An average observer is apt to overlook the value of such an undertaking. It is not essentially a dramatic one. Fewer boys and girls will be sent into life with the "old-fashioned," vague ideas of their great responsibilities and privileges as Americans. The youth wants to know what is expected of him and he is best fitted only when he does know. It would be a dangerously superficial performance were he to be constantly entertained with the thrilling tales of Guy Empey or Private Peat! He needs an armor of judgment which is the outcome of thoughtful development.

## Victoria Cross Heroes

BY MAX J. HERZBERG, CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, N. Y.

Not the least instructive of the numerous contrasts between Great Britain and Germany lies in the number of Victoria Crosses awarded in the former country as compared with the number of Iron Crosses awarded by Teutons. The soldiers who have received Victoria Crosses are to be reckoned only in the hundreds—about a thousand have been given since the war began. But over a million Iron Crosses have been awarded, so many in fact that they are a sub-

ject of ridicule even in the German newspapers. The Iron Cross is at the present time no more of a decoration than a button on a soldier's coat. But to hold a Victoria Cross is an honor that only the most valiant and self-sacrificing of British soldiers can claim. Witness some of the deeds that have won Victoria Crosses.

Captain William Bishop, a Canadian member of the Royal Flying Corps, flew over an enemy air-



drome. Finding no enemy machine about, he flew to another airdrome three miles distant and about twelve miles inside the German lines. Seven machines, some with their engines running, were on the ground. He attacked these from a height of fifty feet, killing one of the mechanics. One of the machines got off the ground, but Captain Bishop, at a height of sixty feet, fired fifteen rounds into it at close range, and it crashed to the ground. A second machine got off the ground, into which he fired thirty rounds at 150 yards. It fell into a tree. Two more machines rose from the airdrome, one of which he engaged at a height of 1,000 feet, sending it crashing to the ground. He then emptied a whole drum of cartridges into the fourth hostile machine and flew back to his station. Four hostile scouts were 1,600 feet above him for a mile during his return journey, but they would not attack. His machine suffered severely, however, by gun fire from the ground.

One of the most extraordinary exploits that won the Victoria Cross was that of Private Thomas Alfred Jones, better known to his comrades as "Todger." While with his company consolidating the defences in front of a village, he saw an enemy sniper 200 yards away. Although a bullet hit his helmet and another went through his coat, he returned the sniper's fire and killed him. "Todger" then saw two more of the enemy firing at him, although they were showing the white flag. Jones went forward and made for the enemy trench. He engaged and shot the two snipers. Then, single-handed and unsupported, he continued forward until he actually reached the trench. There he found several dugouts, still occupied. Very methodically, Jones disarmed 102 of the enemy, including several officers, and marched them back to the British lines through a heavy barrage. When his comrades joined him, they found him standing by his prisoners in a big hollow. He was threatening them with bombs and they were all holding up their hands. When Jones with his little bag of prisoners reached the main body of his company, the men went almost wild with joy. Jones was a Cheshire man.

The sort of material that novelists who write about the war are absolutely certain to employ is furnished by exploits like those of Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Cyril Freyberg. Colonel Freyberg, a New Zealander by birth, had won fame throughout Australasia as an exceptionally fine swimmer, as an oarsman, as a football player, and as a boxer. He was over six feet in height and proportionally broad and powerful; his physique won him the affectionate nickname of "Tiny." Before the war Freyberg had drifted to Mexico and had seen service there. In 1914 he joined the Royal Naval Division and was wounded in the hand at Antwerp. He was made a lieutenant-commander and was sent to Gallipoli with his battalion. Freyberg was told by the general in command to make a feint landing with his men at Bulair, the narrow neck of the Peninsula. But, in accordance with a suggestion made by him, an alternative scheme was adopted. He stripped, painted his face

and shoulders a dark color, and taking along a supply of flare-lights, swam to the beach. There he landed and lit the flares, in this way giving the needed impression that a landing was in progress. Then he swam off again, but owing to the darkness and the current, missed his boat, and was picked up two hours later by a destroyer, more dead than alive. For this act of resourcefulness and endurance, for which Freyberg in Germany might have been awarded at least a ton of Iron Crosses, he was given the Distinguished Service Order. Some time later in France, his division being attached to the Royal West Surrey Regiment, Colonel Freyberg carried an initial attack straight through the enemy's first line of trenches, but after the first attack his command was much disorganized owing to mist and a heavy fire of all descriptions. Colonel Freyberg personally rallied and re-formed his men, as well as men from other units who had become intermixed, and inspired them with his own contempt for danger. Then he led his command on to a successful attack on the second objective, and captured many prisoners. By this time he had been twice wounded, but he again rallied and re-formed all the men who were still with him, and although under very heavy artillery and machine-gun fire in a very advanced position, and unsupported, he held his ground for the rest of the day and through the night. On the following morning, with reinforcements, he organized an attack on a strongly fortified village, and captured it, together with 500 prisoners. For the third time he was wounded, and later in the afternoon for the fourth time, this time seriously, but he refused to leave his line until he had issued final instructions. At the point to which he advanced, the whole line, said the official report, was eventually formed. For this gallant series of deeds Colonel Freyberg was awarded the Victoria Cross on December 15, 1916.

All types and conditions of men are being awarded the signal honor of the Victoria Cross. Men from Old England itself, men from Wales and Scotland and Ireland, men from the Dominions overseas, natives of India and sons of immigrants to Canada or Australia, Gentiles and Jews, well-born and lowly, chaplains and reformatory lads, men in the air and on the seas and on the land, The Victoria Cross, creating a wonderful aristocracy, does so out of the most democratic elements. Here Lance-Corporal William Fuller, of a Welsh regiment, before the war of not exemplary character, went out under very heavy rifle and machine-gun fire, near Chivy on the Aisne, and carried back to cover Captain Mark Haggard, who had been mortally wounded. Again, Lance-Corporal O'Leary, of the Connaught Rangers, in an attack at Cuinchy, rushed to the first barricade and there personally killed five Germans. Then he went on to the second barricade and killed three more, making prisoners of two others. All alone he captured an important bit of territory. Albert Jacka, first of all Australians to receive the award, also took

(Concluded on page 508)

# The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR READERS, STUDENTS, AND  
TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine.*

Published Monthly, except July, August and September, by  
MCKINLEY PUBLISHING CO.,  
1619 Ranstead Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, Editor.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK was founded in 1909 under the name of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. Its scope and aims gradually broadened until it made an appeal to all persons interested in the historical roots of the present.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK is an organ of *The American Historical Association* which has appointed an advisory committee composed of Chairman Prof. Henry Johnson, Prof. Fred Morrow Fling, Dr. James Sullivan, Miss Margaret McGill, Prof. Oscar H. Williams, Prof. Frederic Duncalf.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK is edited in close co-operation with the *National Board of Historical Service*, of Washington, D. C., composed of the following persons: Prof. D. C. Munro, chairman; Prof. J. Schaefer, vice-chairman; W. G. Leland, secretary-treasurer; Prof. C. Becker, Dr. V. S. Clark, Dr. R. D. W. Connor; Profs. A. C. Coolidge, W. E. Dodd, C. R. Fish, G. S. Ford, E. B. Greene, S. B. Harding, C. H. Haskins, C. D. Hazen, C. H. Hull; Dr. G. Hunt; Dr. J. F. Jameson; Profs. H. Johnson, W. E. Lingelbach, Dr. C. Moore; Major F. L. Paxson; Profs. J. T. Shotwell, and F. J. Turner.

THE SUBSCRIPTION PRICE is two dollars a year. Back numbers are available in bound form at three dollars a volume, and in unbound form at twenty-five cents a copy.

## WAR ISSUES COURSE.

At the date on which this is written the future of the Student Army Training Corps and of its course in the Issues of the War seems in doubt. Instructions have been issued by the War Department authorizing colleges and universities to substitute regular collegiate subjects for all courses except the military training and the War Issues Course. Later advices, however, seem to point to a modification or elimination, under certain circumstances, even of these two exceptions. In the meantime curriculum committees, college faculties, deans, and presidents are seeking light upon the desirable arrangements of rosters for the second term of the course.

A problem which may face many of them will be whether the War Issues Course, suitably modified,

should be continued by the colleges voluntarily, either as an elective or as a prescribed course. The answer to this question may be based upon a number of facts. Has the first term's work, considering all the disadvantages, been a success or a failure? Is it more valuable than a regular college course in nineteenth century history? Should this or a similar course be prescribed for all college students? For all technical students?

The answers to these questions will be based upon local experience and upon the past policies of the several institutions. In general it may be said that the success of the War Issues Course has been directly proportioned to the time and attention given to the conferences and quizzes; and this implies not only the time and attention of the teaching force, but also of the students. It is an admitted fact that in many institutions the allotted time of six hours of preparation has been sadly lacking.

Last year a number of institutions gave courses in the history of the war and of its European and American antecedents, and it is to be supposed that similar courses will again be given when the colleges regain control of their curricula. Undoubtedly the influence of the War Issues Course, as it has been worked out by Dr. Aydelotte, will be to broaden these courses from purely narrative historical courses to more interpretative studies of the literature, philosophy, and culture of the modern states. Historians, before the war, were accustomed to economic interpretations; they have been brought to see the value of literary and philosophical interpretations as well.

Much to be desired is the inclusion in technical courses of some study of how the world of to-day came into being. Whether this be done through history, or politics, or economics, or literature, or philosophy, or all combined, is immaterial. It is important that the professional man be given an understanding of the origins of the society in which he lives. The student in the regular college course and in the higher courses in commerce usually has been given such a viewpoint. But very often it has been entirely lacking in the professional courses, especially those in engineering. It is to be hoped that faculties will find it possible to insert a course similar to the War Issues in all technical curricula.

In the meantime authors and publishers have been busy preparing material for the second and third terms' work as outlined by the War Department's Committee. Maps have been prepared, textbooks published, and syllabi planned which represent a large amount of co-operative work by the persons and faculties involved. This should not go to the scrap-heap; but should be made the basis of continued courses along the proposed or similar lines. Indeed, one of the outstanding results of the first term's work has been the drawing together of faculty departments which previously held an attitude of studied reserve toward one another. For this at least let us be thankful.

## The Use of Historical Poetry

BY EVERETT EARLE STANARD, BROWNSVILLE, ORE.

In order to understand an historical event we must to a greater or a less degree realize the event. We must detach ourselves in some way from the distracting things of to-day and step boldly into the Past. In order to understand, we must sympathize; and in order to sympathize we must experience. We must stand, in fancy, in the midst of the things described and recorded. In other words, our imagination must be so stimulated that we shall seem to see the heroes of old pass in review before us, so that we shall also seem to stand in the days long dead and witness the actual events of history. Thus the faculty of fancy enters into the realization of history. In the case of the student, either the text-book or the teacher must create the illusion and realization of past days and dead heroes. Otherwise history will be dull, dry as dust, incomprehensible, and, what is more serious, it will be vague, shadowy and unconvincing.

Now the teacher's chief difficulty in the subject of history is the inculcation of this imaginative atmosphere on the part of the student. The student's chief interest is in the Now, and he cannot readily project his mind into things not immediately connected with his present environment. Only rarely does the text-book stimulate the imagination of the learner to any great extent; and the instructor, all too often, does not know how to teach imaginatively. He does not know where to find supplemental reading for the student. Now there is a supplemental aid to the teaching of history, and most teachers have access to it—I refer to historical poetry. Concerning this matter the teaching profession stands in need of education.

The historical poem is of value to the student because it helps him realize the event described. The poet lends an air of actuality to the things he tells. His version is more than a description, it is a sort of imaginative "illusion." By a strange necromancy of words the bard re-creates and re-constructs the historical circumstances, eras and civilizations of which he writes. He makes the reader seem to witness the events described. Having sympathetically witnessed or experienced the things, we are in a position to understand it. It is no longer dim, shadowy or vague. And thus the poet's story, far from being antagonistic to the historian's record, amplifies and completes it.

It is not implied in this article that the poet is a better historical writer than the historian proper. Each type presents his own truth, each uses his own method. It is not to be expected that Plutarch will describe for us every event imaginatively. The poet must aid him. Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" is as good in its way as Plutarch's life of Cæsar. The truth is that bard and historian amplify and complete each other. Just as the moon in the heavens is no sort of beauty, and the stream in the wood another, so the historical poem and the more or less unimaginative

chronicle each presents its own truth. For this reason the lover, student, or teacher of history cannot realize the greatest possible amount of pleasure and profit from his study unless he has a wide knowledge of poetry. Upon his library shelves must be found both poetry and prose.

It is the delight of the poet to realize imaginatively the circumstances chronicled by historians, and to transfer that realization to the minds of his readers. He is simply more imaginative than the average historian. Luckily there is little or no written history which is utterly lacking in this stimulating power. The work of the best prose writers, indeed, is often very suggestive, as, for example, the work of Prescott, Carlyle, Parkman, Ridpath, Macaulay. But when it comes to the creation of a convincing illusion of history, the poet is infinitely stronger than any of the prose writers. He is something of a picture producer, a conjurer of "images" before the mind's eye. Just as the "movies" do, the imaginative man's mind-pictures make us think, for the moment, that we are actually in the very midst of the things described or talked about. In other words, the description of the poet is more than a description. By a wonderful incantation of words he makes pictures which are so realistic that we are deceived by them. The Past lives again for us. We are there in person and intimately know those "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago."

Suppose that it is Longfellow writing about the midnight ride of Paul Revere. Instantly he marshals the event before us. The alarum bell is ringing upon the night. A wild rider dashes through the streets of the sleeping New England villages, shouting "To arms! The British!" and other unintelligible language. The villagers appear at doors. Windows are raised and startled women's voices are heard. Patriots assemble. But Revere does not stop. We see his flying steed striking fire from the stones of the road, we hear the clatter of the hoofs as he gallops away. We of the twentieth century witnessed the thing. Paul Revere has just passed by. So unto all events, whether of peace or war, the poet lends a reality and substance.

What dim, vague shadows of men are engulfed in that abyss, The Past! Our memory of earth's heroes and heroines is only a hazy species of forgetfulness and oblivion. Without imagination, history is, as Lowell writes, "a realm of silence and swart eclipse." That writer's poem "To the Past" is the best possible expression of the melancholy inspired by the thought of vanished ages and fallen civilization. But the departed glory the poet can in a measure restore. He looks upon the lands of antiquity and at first sees only ruin.



"Wondrous and awful are thy silent halls,  
 O kingdom of the past!  
 There lie the bygone ages in their palls,  
 Guarded by the shadows vast;  
 There all is hushed and breathless,  
 Save where some image of old error falls  
 Earth worshipped once as deathless.

"There sits drear Egypt, 'mid beleaguering sands,  
 Half woman and half beast,  
 The burnt-out torch within her mouldering hands  
 That once lit all the East;  
 A dotard blear and hoary,  
 There Asser crouches o'er the blackened brands  
 Of Asia's long-quenched glory.

"Thy mighty clamors, wars, and world-noised deeds,  
 Are silent now in dust,  
 Gone like a tremble of the huddling reeds  
 Beneath some sudden gust;  
 Thy forms and creeds have vanished,  
 Tossed out to wither like unsightly weeds  
 From the world's garden banished."

Then in a sort of reconstructive vision he restores ancient civilizations and re-peoples the old eras. Keats, presented with a weather-beaten old Grecian urn, immediately begins an imaginative reconstruction culminating in the "Ode." We open his volume to-day and begin reading, and lo, we are transported, in fancy, to a distant age and a far country. Men, maidens and gods mingle in the dales of Arcady. What pipes and timbrels! What ecstasy! Of the representation on the urn, Keats asks

Who are these coming to the sacrifice?  
 To what green altar, O mysterious priest,  
 Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,  
 And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?  
 What little town by river or sea shore,  
 Or mountain built with peaceful citadel,  
 Is emptied of its folk, this pious morn?  
 And, little town, thy streets forevermore  
 Will silent be; and not a soul to tell  
 Why thou art desolate, can e'er return.

Alas, there was no Grecian poet to depict those particular ceremonies and ecstasies! The little town has disappeared, and but for the accidental sight Keats had of the digged-up urn, there would to-day be no soul to tell of maidens, men, gods, timbrels, green altar, or mysterious priest.

But the poet can visualize past events. Imaginatively he can step into the shoes of the heroes of old, and experience their lives. He can stand listening to Socrates, and summon that philosopher to the view of the reader:

Broad, squat, thick-lipped, and onion-eyed,  
 Such was the teacher's form, his satyr-face,  
 As he stood forth and swept the shams aside,  
 In Athens' market place.

Such stanzas are of infinite worth to the student who is striving to visualize and actually know something of the old Athenian philosopher.

Matthew Arnold writes a few lines, and lo, we are cut on the sandy tracts of remote Persia. We are carried backward in time to the days of Sohrab and Rustum. An illusion of time and place seizes us.

The fogs of the winding Oxus rise and shift and reveal two mighty hosts clad in shimmering armor, and ready for the battle. But look, a champion from each camp comes forth to meet in combat. These gladiators clash, recoil, parley, flash weapons, and then finally one combatant is down on the bloody sand. There is the whinny of a steed standing by. Then out comes some of the victor army to bear the combatants, sire and son, away. Then a cold fog obscures the vision and night has settled down over the solemn waste. One gets a good description of all this in Rawlinson's history, but the event cannot be more vividly realized than in the poem.

Precious indeed are all such bits of realism. Another case in point is the passage in Byron's "Childe Harold," where the author pictures the sudden breaking up of that "revelry by night" in Europe's capital at the first speaking of the guns of Waterloo. None but the poet would have devoted time and space to this moment before the battle, that instant when the booming guns rudely thrust aside all thoughts of love and coquetry, that moment of mounting in hot haste and of hurried farewells. But it is beyond question that these stanzas help us to realize the character of those stirring Waterloo times. They amplify and complete the prose historians' records.

Besides that poetry which is deliberately historical in nature, there is another historical poetry. Scattered throughout the poet's pages there are hundreds of graphic and illuminating word-pictures of historic events which are used as figures of speech, or else are merely allusions incidental to the poet's theme. For example, Poe in his verses to Helen can in few words suggest all the splendor of ancient civilizations:

... the glory that was Greece  
 And the grandeur that was Rome.

Another casual instance of this sort is in Lowell's "The Present Crisis," where the author incorporates into the thought of the poem the figures of Judas and Jesus and the mob of the crucifixion. As a final example, consider Keat's well-known sonnet, "Upon Looking Into Chapman's Homer." The poet has been reading a translation of Homer and wants to tell mankind that an immense new world of wonderful thought has been opened to him. How is he to do this? How convey all that astonishment, wonder and delight? Simply by an allusion from history. But the allusion is more than an allusion. It is also an illusion. In other words, it is an imaginative portrayal of the event of the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa.

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
 When a new planet swims into his ken;  
 Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes  
 He stared at the Pacific—and all his men  
 Looked at each other with a wild surmise,  
 Silent upon a peak in Darien.

Then there are poems which are semi-historical. They are based upon historical events, but the poet's fancy has supplied the details. The thing to notice here is that if they are truly imaginative they will give more



truth than error. Just as in Keats' sonnet the name of the discoverer of the Pacific is wrongly given, so in some of the semi-historical poems minor errors will be found. But the poet will, in his portrayal, give us truth to nature, he will breathe into dull records the breath of life. Thus the poem will always amplify and complete the mere chronicle of fact. As examples of this poetry which is based upon history, but wherein the poet has supplied the moving details and circumstances, consider Southey's "God's Judgement On A Wicked Bishop," Reade's "Sheridan's Ride," Byron's "The Destruction of Sennacherib" and "Vision of Belshazzar," Browning's "Saul" and "The Pied Piper," Shakespeare's "Coriolanus" and the other Histories, Joaquin Miller's "Columbus," and, to name a living writer, Alfred Noyes' "Drake: An English Epic." It is the ever-present illusion of reality that makes this history valuable to teacher and student.

A great part of historical poetry is battle poetry. Since the days of Homer the poets have been busily writing of the exploits of the "fire-eyed maid of smoky war." Bards of all nations have chanted war-song, and commemorated the battle by giving it the artist's immortality. A hundred instances of this imaginative portrayal of battle come to mind. In this matter, among English writers, Scott, Browning, Shakespeare, Tennyson, Milton, Kipling, Macaulay, stand foremost. But the discussion of battle poetry is too extensive to crowd into a paragraph. It demands a separate article. In passing we will mention a few examples of the poet's illusion of battle: Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris," Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade," Browning's "An Incident of the French Camp," Campbell's "The Battle of the Baltic" and "Hohenlinden," Macaulay's "Ivry" and "Naseby" and "Lays of Ancient Rome," Scott's "Marmion" and Shakespeare's "Richard the Third."

Whitman is a good writer of battle poetry. In order to understand how it is that poets in general portray the truth and actuality of war, the teacher of history could not do better than to make a close study of the author of "Drum Taps." In the poem of Walt Whitman there is a masterful passage about the sea fight between the old frigates. The best of the "Drum Taps" are "A March In the Ranks Hard-Pressed And the Road Unknown," "Vigil Strange I Kept On the Field One Night" and "The Veteran's Vision."

This last named poem is, without a doubt, one of the finest battle pieces ever written. As it is not long I will quote it:

"While my wife at my side lies slumbering, and the wars  
are over long,  
And my head on the pillow rests at home, and the mystic  
midnight passes,  
And thru the stillness, thru the dark, I hear, just hear,  
the breath of my infant,  
There in the room, as I wake from sleep, this vision  
presses upon me:  
The engagement opens there and then, in my busy brain  
unreal;

The skirmishers begin—they crawl cautiously ahead—I  
hear the irregular snap! snap!  
I hear the sounds of the different missiles, the short t-h-t!  
t-h-t! of the rifle balls;  
I see the shells exploding, leaving small white clouds—I  
hear the great shells shrieking as they pass;  
The grape, like the hum and whirr of wind thru the trees,  
(quick, tumultuous, now the contest rages!)  
All the scenes at the batteries themselves rise in detail  
before me again;  
The crashing and smoking—the pride of the men in their  
pieces;  
The chief gunner ranges and sights his piece, and selects  
a fuse of the right time;  
After firing, I see him lean aside, and look eagerly off to  
note the effect.  
—Elsewhere I hear the cry of a regiment charging—(the  
young colonel leads himself this time, with brand-  
ished sword;)  
I see the gaps cut by the enemies' volleys, (quickly filled  
up—no delay;)

I breathe the suffocating smoke—then the flat clouds  
hover low, concealing all;  
Now a strange lull comes for a few seconds, not a shot  
fired on either side;  
Then resumed the chaos louder than ever, with eager  
calls, and orders of officers;  
While from some distant part of the field the wind wafts  
to my ears a shout of applause, (some special suc-  
cess)  
And ever the sound of the cannon, far or near, (rousing  
even in dreams, a devilish exultation, and all the old  
mad joy, in the depths of my soul;)  
And ever the hastening of infantry changing positions—  
batteries, cavalry, moving hither and thither;  
(The falling, dying, I heed not—some to the rear are hob-  
bling;)  
Grime, heat, rush—aid-de-camps galloping by, or on a full  
run;  
With the patter of small arms, the warning s-s-t of the  
rifles, (these in my vision I hear or see)  
And bombs bursting in air, and at night the vari-colored  
rockets."

But to come back to the poet's reconstruction of the Past. Longfellow, reading of a skeleton clad in armor which was discovered on the Atlantic coast, produces a poem which re-creates for us the old days of Viking Norsemen. Smith contemplates a mummy and rehabilitates the shreds of Rameses' glory. Rossetti discovers in the London Museum one of the ancient Assyrian Bull-gods, and the result is that fine imaginative portrayal of dead days entitled "The Burden of Nineveh." Carlyle in "Past and Present" conducts us far back into the dim days of medi-  
eval history, and not without astonishment we hob-  
nob with Monk Samson of the thirteenth century. Browning's reconstruction of the Dark Ages is equally  
powerful. Tennyson conjures up for us the gorgeous  
days of Haroun Al Raschid; also those other days  
wherein move the knights and ladies of King Arthur's  
court. Lowell, also, can make very real the castle,  
moat and drawbridge, and the knight setting forth in  
search of the Holy Grail. Again, Browning can carry  
us back to the first kingdom of the Jews. We enter  
the very tent of Saul, and listen to David's harp

music. William Morris creates the illusion of events transpiring in the times of Sigurd the Volsung, and those other days of Jason and Medea's wanderings.

In order to make use of this vast imaginative history, the teacher must, of course, procure some volumes or sets of historical poetry. It is too bad that there is not a text-book containing poetical history as well as prose history. Bullfinch's "Age of Fable"

I have found a vast help in a suggestive way. Better still is the set brought out by the John D. Morris Company some years ago, entitled, "The World's Best Poetry." This may be found in most city libraries. However this may be, the wise teacher will devise ways and means to present to the student much of that poetry which amplifies and completes history proper.

## The Development of Transportation in Connection with Problems of Western Expansion

BY EDITH WHITTEN OSGOOD, A.M., UNIVERSITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The westward advance of the American people across this continent forms one of the most important aspects of American history. If children have this first, it will give them a background on which political, social, and economic phases of our history can be shown in a more vital way. How the Appalachian Mountains were crossed, the settlement and development of the Southwest and the Northwest, the acquisition of new territory, the struggle for the possession of the West by the North and the South, and finally, the crossing of the Rocky Mountain barrier should be studied so that the child will get this view of dominant movement.

In connection with this advance into new territory and the development of it, certain problems arise, the solution of which shows the importance that transportation has been in American life. In solving these problems, the children are able to understand why improved transportation was needed, how the development came in answer to these needs, and the wonderful results that have followed.

Transportation played an important part in the crossing of the Appalachian barrier. In colonial times the extension of the frontier line westward has been shown. By 1740, it had made a deep loop into the Shenandoah Valley, due to the increase of population through the immigration of the Germans and Scotch-Irish, people who had fine pioneer qualities which led them into the primeval forests to make settlements. Hunters and fur traders were also pushing westward into and beyond the mountains to follow the receding wild animal life. By the time of the Revolutionary War, there were a few scattered settlements in eastern Tennessee and Kentucky. Daniel Boone had been selected because of his knowledge of the wilderness and experience in eastern Kentucky to blaze a trail to the Transylvania colony for the purpose of making the colony more accessible to settlers.

Problems can be made from this material which children can solve, or which they bring up themselves. "What did Daniel Boone have to consider in blazing this road?" In forming hypotheses, the children have a certain amount of knowledge about the value of roads in connecting places and the difficulty of road building. It is now necessary for them to place them-

selves in Daniel Boone's position and to understand his problems. First, before a road can be built, the country has to be known. Daniel Boone got his information through exploring; the class will have to get its information through the study of books, pictures, models and maps. Thus the study of the Appalachian Mountains is made.

This study shows the peculiar difficulty of traveling through that part of the country and questions arise in the children's minds as to why these pioneers did not seek some other way around the mountains. The study is then directed to the solution of this problem. In this way the class becomes familiar with the passes from the East to the West, the situation in New York which prevented the use of the Hudson-Mohawk gateway, the reasons why the earliest trans-Appalachian settlements were south of the Ohio River, and the difficulties of going around the southern end of the mountains.

The value from blazing such a road, for it was simply a marked way, is estimated by the class to be great in that it did lead pioneers into the new western regions. The travels over this road can be made into a vivid picture. The pioneers with their pack horses, going in groups for protection, the experiences of some who have left records, the notices posted in the little frontier communities for return trips to the East, all aid in making the children feel the reality of it.

After the Revolutionary War, the people began to move West in greater numbers. The means of travel were crude and slow; by wagon, or horse, to Redstone Old Fort, or Pittsburgh, at the head of navigation. There flatboats could be built on which the household goods, cattle, and also a little cabin for the family's use could be put. The journey was then begun down the swift and broad current of the Ohio River, nature's great roadway to the West. Settlements sprang up along this river until, by 1800, they extended as far as the mouth of the Cumberland, and the population in Ohio territory numbered fifty-five thousand. The hunter and fur trader were superseded by the farmer. With the farmer, there was surplus of crop production above that for family use. In order to provide his family with articles that could not be grown, or manufactured, on the farm, the farmer would wish to exchange this surplus produc-

tion for articles needed. Therefore trade began to play an important part in the lives of these trans-Appalachian settlers.

The products in the West were grain, cattle, hides, hemp and tobacco. Cotton later became the great crop in the Southwest. The needs were such articles as salt, iron, fire-arms, and gun-powder. How was this trade to be carried on? How could the goods be sent to the East, and the eastern goods to the West? With this problem of transportation before the class, the difficulties of the exchange of bulky products are brought out. Transportation of such products upstream in flatboats with a long land haul made profit impossible. Illustrations as a cow and a calf being given for a bushel of salt, and a suit of store clothes costing as much as a farm, show what this difficulty in transportation meant.

What outlet was there for the trade of this region? From a study of the map, the class is able to see two, first New Orleans which is at the end of down stream navigation, and Montreal, or Quebec, which is at the end of lake and river navigation. New Orleans was the more important outlet because the majority of the early settlements were either directly, or indirectly, contributory to the Ohio.

This brings up the question of New Orleans as a market. New Orleans was a Spanish city. Was it a satisfactory arrangement to have the natural outlet of such a large region in the hands of a foreign power? What difficulties could arise? The New Orleans situation is then studied.

With New Orleans as a safe and permanent market, the situation was helped greatly. But the difficulties of down stream navigation were still in existence. A flatboat would be loaded with freight and begin its dangerous and time-consuming journey. At New Orleans the cargo would be sold, the flat boat broken up and sold as lumber, a weary return journey begun by land, or by keel boat. Such difficulty would not allow trade to grow.

The class is familiar with modern river transportation, and in order to solve the next step in its development, recourse is made to knowledge of the present. Steamboats are used to-day on the rivers and lakes. Such boats would solve the question of transportation on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers because they could go both up and down stream in less time. Therefore the study of this development is taken up.

Models of early self-propelling boats are studied. The life of Robert Fulton and his attempts, culminating in the production of the Clermont, are read. The introduction of the steamboat on the western waters, the journeys of Nicholas Roosevelt, first to find out if these rivers were navigable, and second to try out the first steamboat built at Pittsburgh, proving that it was possible for a steamboat to ascend the strong current, are other topics which the class reads with interest. The number of steamboats on these rivers increased rapidly. The growth of New Orleans as a city and in value of produce received at the port was great. Rates of transportation were reduced, and prices of goods were correspondingly lowered.

But the trade was still going away from the East;

the divergence of East and West remained great. How could the East and West be linked together so that there could be an exchange of products between these two sections? The answer that is generally given first is the railroad, as that is the experience of the child. Roads are another way. Because the trans-Appalachian road came before the railroad, this is taken up.

Plans of Washington and Gallatin are studied in order to see how the early leading statesmen regarded the situation and what their ideas were about bridging the gap. Up to 1807, roads had been built in the eastern states by private companies backed by the state governments. Pennsylvania had roads running from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh had become an important center because it was at the head of the Ohio navigation. Therefore roads naturally converged and terminated at such a point. The question now is: "What route would the class choose for building a turnpike that would unite the East and the West?" After discussing the probabilities pro and con, a map of the Cumberland National Road is studied. "What parts of the country would be benefitted by this road?" brings the answer that the interior of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois would have an outlet to the East, and that Philadelphia and Baltimore would become the eastern markets. The topics, taken up in connection with the road, are cost and construction, the support for keeping it in good repair, and the travel over it.

Turnpikes were only part of the solution. They aided, but still transportation rates were high and travel was slow.

Eastern cities now began to compete for the western trade. Philadelphia and Baltimore were getting the most. What could New York do in order to capture some of it? Even in the State of New York, the products of the western part went down the Susquehanna River and over to Philadelphia. The natural highways are then studied. The Hudson and the Mohawk form the one which leads to New York City. The distance from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Mohawk is not great. It seems probable, therefore, that New York could get trade from the Great Lakes, thus tapping the trade that was going out by the way of the St. Lawrence. How was she to do this? A road would not answer the purpose because of the two extra breaks in freighting. If the freight could be carried all the way by water this would be prevented. In this way the class is led to reason why the Erie Canal was built. Further study is carried on from these topics, the difficulties of building it, the overcoming of these difficulties, the cost and support, the opening ceremony, the means of canal travel, the building of feeders to the canal, and finally the results. This, because of its great success, began the canal movement.

Pennsylvania constructed a series of canals with a portage railway over the mountains to Pittsburgh. In the West important canals were built to connect the Great Lakes with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, which changed existing lines of trade almost completely. New York became the leading port.



As a result Baltimore's trade began to dwindle until business was seriously threatened. Not only that, but the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was being projected which would mean that Baltimore would have to meet competition within the State of Maryland. The leading men met to consider ways and means. A canal was impossible because of physiographic conditions. One man was interested in the possibilities of steam for locomotion. A few short railways had been built in this country. If a short one was possible, why not a longer one, connecting Baltimore with the Ohio River? The building of this railway in competition with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is an interesting story. The attempts of finding a motive power, Peter Cooper's first locomotive, and the development of locomotives and cars up to the present time are other interesting studies to a class. Early railroad traveling forms a comparison with modern traveling that children enjoy. And last, what the railroad has meant to this country makes the class realize that the railroad has been the solution of the problem of connecting the East and the West.

An important part of this study is the reality that can be given to it. In the first place, problems can be made which a child can answer by the process of his own reasoning. Results can also be approximated. But it is necessary to verify any hypothesis by reference to a book, map, picture, statistics, or opinion of the class. Second, there is source material on this subject that can be easily used. Third, there are possible many types of written and concrete expression

by the children, such as, editorials and newspaper articles, stories and imaginary experiences, poems, comparisons, maps and graphs showing increases. The correlation with the art and wood working allows the making of pictures and models, showing the development of the means of transportation.

Books which can be used both by teachers and pupils for this subject are as follows:

Seymour Dunbar, "The History of Travel in America."

Bogart, "Economic History of the United States."

Coman, "Industrial History of the United States."

Simple, "American History and Its Geographic Conditions" (for the teacher.)

Brigham, "Geographic Influences in American History."

Barstow, "The Westward Movement."

Hulburt, "Pilots of the Republic."

Sparks, "The Expansion of the American People."

Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West."

Brigham, "From Trail to Railway."

Drake, "The Making of the Ohio Valley States."

McMurry, "Pioneer History Stories."

Knox, "Life of Robert Fulton."

Thwaites, "Daniel Boone."

Bruce, "Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road."

Hart, "Source Readers in American History."

Longman's "School Atlas."

Text books: Forman, Thwaites and Kendall, and Bourne and Benton, "Histories of the United States."

## A Program of Civics Teaching for War Times and After

BY PROFESSOR J. LYNN BARNARD, PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL OF PEDAGOGY.

Rather dogmatically stated, in preliminary outline, the New Civics<sup>1</sup> can do these things, among others: First, it can lay a basis for good citizenship in the civic virtues. Second, it can give an insight into community co-operation, be that community large or small. Third, it can study the elements of civic welfare, and the public and private agencies through which they are secured. Fourth, it can compare our own civic agencies, local and national, with those of the leading nations of Europe; incidentally, this will afford us a fine opportunity to contrast autocracy and democracy. Fifth, it can contribute to the Americanization of foreign adults by special civic instruction.

<sup>1</sup> For magazine references at the end of this article, and for helpful and suggestive criticism of the article itself, the writer is indebted to Prof. D. Montford Melchior, Girard College, Philadelphia. See also Barnard, "Training in the Schools for Civic Efficiency;" *Annals American Academy Political and Social Science*; Dunn, "The Trend of Civic Education;" Report United States Commissioner of Education for 1914, Vol. I; Hill, "The Teaching of Civics;" "The Teaching of Community Civics," Bulletin No. 23, 1915, United States Bureau of Education; "Social Studies in Secondary Education," Bulletin No. 28, 1916, United States Bureau of Education.

Sixth, it can develop a curriculum of school activities of a civic nature, such as will be usually organized by a junior civic league or the Junior Red Cross. And now for a discussion of ways and means to carry out this rather ambitious program.

All school studies and activities, rightly planned and carried on, make for active good citizenship. So, in large measure, does the school administration itself. Young people learn much through observation and imitation, and a despotic school principal is missing a rare opportunity to help train his pupils in the essentials of democratic government. However, to the study best known as civics must be granted a first place among all school influences making for practical training in citizenship.

The older type of civics, largely a study of the federal constitution and of the organization and legal powers of government, may have met the requirements of a past generation; it no longer meets the needs or the ideals of a rapidly changing social order. Even before the war began, the old civics was proving inadequate and was being radically changed. The world-overturn is but hastening the process, which will go on in the days of reconstruction that are to follow.

What are the fundamental principles on which the new civics is based? Are these principles applicable to war times? Are they likely to afford a safe foundation for citizen building in the days of profound social reconstruction that are to come?

To begin with, suppose we get clearly in our minds just what we mean by "good citizenship." And this necessitates a definition of two preliminary terms, "community" and "citizen." The community has well been defined as a group of people in a given locality, bound together by common interests and subject to common rules or laws. And the various types of community include the home, the school, the church, the shop, the state. A citizen is anyone who participates in community action, sharing its privileges and properly subject to a share in its duties and responsibilities. The good citizen, then, is one who willingly meets his obligations as a citizen and performs his part well as a member of his community. All are citizens, whether young or old, for all are members of one or more of these communities; and all, be it remembered, are citizens of the political community known as the state.

From the above, we see that civics is both a study of that social environment we call the community, and a practical training in good citizenship. And this forces us to the conclusion that civics as a school subject must include both a curriculum of studies and a curriculum of activities. Moreover, it necessitates at least three distinct steps: first, to secure accurate information; second, to arouse real interest; and third, to stimulate to intelligent action. This, in turn, obliges us to follow the line of the pupils' interest, namely, from that which is near and simple and concrete to that which is relatively remote and complex and abstract. Furthermore, it requires us to relate civics to past events—history made, and to current events—history in the making; and on the activity side we must relate civics to conduct, present and future. If to the above we add that *civics must be continuous and cumulative, extending in some form over the entire school life*, we shall have discovered what the fundamental principles are on which the newer civics teaching is based.

It will now be in order to offer suggestions as to the sort of work in civics that is finding its way into the elementary school, including the ninth grade or the last year of the junior high school; and to show how it attempts to train the young citizens in our schools to understand and appreciate their civic responsibilities.

**Primary Grades.**—Here must be laid an indispensable foundation for any course in civics worthy the name, in the form of a careful training in "morals and manners." This may sound old-fashioned, but nothing has so far been discovered to take its place. The following "civic virtues"<sup>2</sup> are suggested for the

first three or four grades: Obedience, cleanliness, orderliness, courtesy, helpfulness, punctuality, truthfulness, fair play, thoroughness, honesty, respect, courage, self-control, perseverance, thrift, not forgetting kindness to animals and "safety first." If these are taught through stories, poems, songs, memory gems, and simple dramatization, and if each lesson is closed with a short talk that drives home the vital truth without obviously "pointing the moral," and finally, if these are followed up and made cumulative from week to week, the teacher need have no fear of the result.

Of course, it must be kept in mind that the true test of the result will be the formation of habit, and that this means unremitting vigilance. But the goal is worth the effort. A boy who has become habitually courteous and helpful and truthful and thorough and honest and courageous has in him the making of a fearless and upright citizen, who thinks straight and has the courage of his convictions. Moreover, once these virtues have been made habitual they have been handed over to the subconscious self for constant use; and the young citizen is free to take up the work that lies ahead of him, confident that these habit friends of his will serve him automatically whether he is thinking of them or not.

While the need for these underlying civic virtues is the same at all times, yet the Great War has emphasized that need, and at the same time has given us a wealth of illustrative material, which should be freely drawn upon in class instruction. For example, the pupils' attention may be directed toward the prompt obedience required of every soldier, and toward his habits of orderliness, thoroughness, and punctuality. The need for absolute cleanliness in camp and in the hospitals can easily be pictured. The fine courtesy displayed by the salute should be dwelt upon. It is a time above all others to teach courage, when we have so many examples about us; not only of the men who go to fight, and the women who go to nurse the wounded back to health and strength, but of the men and women who risk their lives in the munition plants or in other dangerous places.

No civic virtue is receiving more attention just now than that of thrift, made necessary by the economic pressure of war. It is reaching even the children, who are saving their money to give to the Red Cross or to lend to their government.

**Intermediate Grades.**—A sound basis for good citizenship having been laid in these civic virtues, the time has come to take the next step in civic training. The child may now be put in touch with the larger community life round about him, and the services which that community is rendering to him and his family. These private community agents who are perhaps best known to him are the milkman, the baker, the grocer, the dressmaker, the carpenter, the plumber, the physician, the nurse. The public community agents with whom he is most familiar are the policeman, the fireman, the street-sweeper, the garbage-collector, the mail-carrier, and those who

<sup>2</sup> For source material on the Civic Virtues, see "Philadelphia Course of Study in Civics," Grades One to Six, pages 57-68.

supply such community needs as water, gas, electricity, the telephone, the trolley service.

Talks about these servants of his, who serve so steadily and without whom he could not long survive, will bring him to realize his own dependence upon others and the interdependence of each member of a community upon all the rest.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he will discover that these adults who are doing things for the whole community are embodying those very civic virtues in which he has been trained. The uncleanly, unpunctual, discourteous, dishonest milkman simply doesn't exist, for one one will deal with him.

Just now a very considerable part of the child's environment is made up of men in uniform, of men whose very walk and bearing proclaim their embodiment of some of the finest virtues; and almost unconsciously the discussion turns to them. But this means that the pupil's thinking is widened from the local to the national, and he is unconsciously reacting to thoughts and ideals that make for splendid patriotism.

However, this discovery and appreciation of what the community—city, state, or nation—is doing for the pupil is only the preliminary step in his training as a citizen. Now comes the second step, without which the first can have but little value: what can he do to help others—what contributions can he make to community welfare? Unless he reaches this stage he is of little worth as a young citizen, and will be a negligible quantity as an adult citizen. This is why it is beginning to be appreciated that civics for war and civics for peace must alike include both a curriculum of study and a curriculum of activities.

*Civic Activities for Primary and Intermediate Grades.*—What these activities shall be is determined by the needs of the time; but most of them for children of the first six grades are local in their application. For example, the children may prevent the defacement or destruction of property, they may help to keep streets and school-yards free from litter; they may aid in the "safety first" movement for themselves and for others. All these things they may do individually or in some organized fashion.

Another outlet for youthful enthusiasm is that of thrift activities. In a fourth grade civics class in one of our large cities there is a "Make-Over Club," membership in which is conditioned on the doing of thrifty acts: cleaning and mending of clothing, saving waste paper and spending wisely the proceeds of its sale, making simple repairs about the home, etc. The interest and enthusiasm manifested in this club are remarkable. Of vital interest just now is the organizing of thrift clubs, whose youthful members are busily earning and saving small sums with which to buy government thrift stamps and war savings certificates.

In a rural section of New York State an enthusiastic county agent of the Society for the Prevention of

<sup>3</sup> Source material here is of little use, except possibly for stories of service and of heroism that appear from time to time in current literature.

Cruelty to Animals has recently organized a "Young Defenders' League," whose object is "to interest and instruct school children in humane ways of thinking and acting regarding animals." Why may not this splendid idea take root in other states?

But the coming of war has opened wider fields of civic endeavor for boys and girls, the most of which is being embodied in the newest movement for world uplift, the Junior Red Cross. That organization and its work will be discussed after the further stages in civic training shall have been presented.

*Junior High Grades.*—Coming now to the seventh and eighth grades of the elementary school, and joining with them the first year of the high school so as to comprise that educational unit known as the junior high school, we discover that a rather well defined body of civic material for study is being evolved, with its accompanying activities.

That part of it which is best known, and which would seem to be fundamental, is a study of the main elements of civic welfare,<sup>4</sup> such as health, protection of life and property, education, recreation, civic beauty, communication, transportation, wealth, as well as society's care for those who either cannot secure these elements of welfare for themselves or will not do so in any but an anti-social fashion—usually designated as charities and correction. Besides this, some attention is being given to methods of legislation, and to the way in which our public servants are chosen and their acts controlled, largely through the mechanism and unifying force of political parties.

Up to this point the civics has been naturally confined to people who were doing things for the community regardless of the organization back of them. But now the young mind is coming to be interested in the way in which people organize to get results, and hence we may proceed from function and activity to organization and legal powers. Accordingly, the various public agencies are considered in connection with each of these elements of civic welfare, and also the private agencies that have been set in motion to co-operate with the various governmental ones.

One can readily perceive how vitally this part of civics instruction will be affected by the war and by the days of reconstruction that are to follow. Some illustrations will make this clearer.

*Health.*<sup>5</sup>—The physical standards set up for both officers and men will show the younger boys the importance of keeping good eyesight, sound teeth, strong foot arches, an erect carriage; and physical and mental alertness if one would play a man's part in the world. And our national food problem will inspire

<sup>4</sup> For source material on the Elements of Welfare, see Philadelphia Course of Study in Civics, Grades Seven and Eight, pages 109-128.

Suggestive references showing the bearing of the war on our civic life will be found in this bulletin under each element of Welfare.

<sup>5</sup> For source material on Elements of Welfare, see page 498-499.



the girls to learn as much as possible of the new diet regulations and the use of unusual food combinations, so as to help the mothers keep their families healthy in these perplexing days, with the thin pocketbook and the queer things to buy and cook.

*Protection of Life and Property.*—The whole story of the state militia and of the army and navy has been utterly changed by the war. Home defence leagues have been organized as auxiliary local police, and the national guard has been taken over into the service of the nation. The army has been reorganized; widespread volunteering and the selective draft have turned an army of a hundred thousand into one of millions; the navy has been put on a fighting basis; whole nations in arms are "digging in" and trying to smother each other with poisonous gases. But then it is remembered that the great struggle between democracy and autocracy may be decided in the air, or under the sea; whereupon, the class discussion turns to the airplane and the submarine, and the class discovers that this country is no longer protected by three thousand miles of ocean.

*Education.*—An interesting illustration of how true education prepares for life is found in the accounts of the ways in which soldiers handicapped by wounds are being re-educated along new lines of helpfulness and self-support. The rapidity with which women are taking the places of men in all lines of work is one of the significant changes of the war, and one which calls for new developments in the education of women. Another phase of education that the war has brought home to us is the necessity for the Americanization of adult foreigners. They must actually "go to school" in some fashion or other.

*Recreation.*—The warring countries have found that their civilian population needs wholesome recreation if it would keep sane and efficient. And the wonderful recreational facilities that have been literally poured in upon the cantonments in this country, and are following our boys in khaki across the sea, are the highest possible tribute to the efficacy of play and the play spirit to keep young men sound in mind and body. The War and Navy Departments' Commissions on Training Camp Activities are co-operating with such private organizations as the Playground and Recreation Association of America, the Y. M. C. A., and the Knights of Columbus in this magnificent campaign to keep our soldiers in the highest state of efficiency.

*Civic Beauty.*—One of the ways in which the ultra democracy of post-bellum days will manifest itself is bound to be in the greater attention given to town planning, not only on the side of health and comfort, but in regard to beauty and sightliness of streets, houses, public buildings, parks and boulevards, not to mention the doing away with unsightly signboards and still more hideous noises. The town of the future will run on rubber wheels.

*Communication and Transportation.*—When means of communication and transportation are before the

class the effort that has been made to prevent wireless messages being sent to the enemy will lend added interest to the discussion, as will also the terrible price the Allies are paying for our long neglect of shipping and the carrying trade. The remarkable changes in transportation that are coming through federal control of the railroads will be a topic of great interest to the pupils. No competition for passenger traffic; no expensive offices for freight soliciting, maintained by the big lines in various cities; shipping by the most direct route and no cars running empty one way; the designation of one line mainly for freight traffic and a nearby competitor mainly for passenger traffic; the standardization of railway equipment and a centralized system of purchasing; the pooling of railway interests, heretofore compelled by law to remain separate and competitive—all these results of government control and operation of our railways, taken together, constitute a revolution in transportation.

*Wealth—the Getting of a Living.*—In this field of civic endeavor the changes produced by the war are sweeping, and come close to the lives of the young people in the class. Besides the points just mentioned under Communication and Transportation, there are such startling developments as food and fuel control; control of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; commandeering of supplies for the war, including warehouses, docks, shipping, building material, etc.; the building of what will be really a government fleet of ocean-going vessels; the reaching out of the various bureaus and commissions of the federal government into the homes and the business life of the nation.

*Immigration.*—Whether immigration is treated separately, as it well may be, or is included under the topic Wealth, its importance in the light of the war and of the ensuing days of peace can hardly be overestimated. To have a steady inflow of three-quarters of a million of immigrants yearly cut down abruptly to a few thousands could not help but have a profound effect on the labor supply, especially of unskilled labor. Naturally this has resulted in higher money wages and the possibility of a higher standard of living, both in labor conditions and in the obtainable comforts of life. Unfortunately, this has been largely offset by the rise in prices caused by an inflated currency, monopoly, foolish display, and the demand for war equipment.

Two other questions brought up by the war and its relation to immigration are the federal control of unnaturalized immigrants from the countries with which we are at war, known as "enemy aliens," and the strong drive being made for the Americanization of our adult foreign population. The first-named question will automatically cease with the ending of the war; the second is a problem we shall have to solve before we can feel safe as a homogeneous people. As it is gradually evolving, the Americanization program includes, as an "irreducible minimum," careful in-

struction in English and civics, with the addition, wherever feasible, of vocational training. And once the helpless foreigner is made over into a real American citizen it will not be easy to exploit him industrially.

*Taxation.*—Here again is a topic so important as to deserve a classification all by itself. Otherwise, it will naturally be discussed under Wealth. To begin with, why should not the boys and girls be made to understand that the government—local, state or national—is really a “silent partner” in the great business of life, and as such is entitled to its distributive share of the wealth of the nation? Some time taxation will come to be regarded, not as a sort of necessary evil to be endured as best we may, but rather as our contribution to the one great social agency through which we all co-operate to get the things done that can best be done through collective action. When the close of the war leaves us face to face with a national debt of perhaps twenty billions of dollars, we shall need to fortify ourselves with a point of view about taxation that differs radically from the one that prevails now. It may be fortunate that national borrowing is meeting us, at the start, pleasantly disguised as “liberty” loans; and that in addition to the “liberty” bonds which we are all asked to purchase, the young people may contribute their share in equally picturesque fashion through the “thrift stamp” and the “war savings certificate.”

The whole matter of Federal borrowing and taxing is brought near to us as never before. And this close contact is increased through our growing familiarity with internal revenue stamps on cigars, patent medicines, and legal documents; through the tax on telephone messages costing fifteen cents or over; and through increased postage rates. Moreover, to a considerable number of people Uncle Sam reaches out a hand for a further contribution, which he calls an income tax; and of a very few he asks one additional gift, under the name of “excess profits” tax. And some of these new taxes have come to stay!

*Charities.*—In the field of philanthropy some interesting developments are likely to appear. A shifting of the emphasis from relief to prevention has already taken place. The clearing-house activities of the Red Cross, by which practically all forms of war relief have been unified and standardized, may be the forerunner of more systematic and unified civilian relief work in the future. With the restoration of the handicapped ex-soldier to self-support, and with the change from the old pension system to one of government insurance, two long steps in the direction of preventive social organization will have been taken. When to these are added workmen's compensation, social insurance, and old age pensions for civilians, the whole problem of so-called “charities” will be immeasurably lessened.

*Correction.*—With the change in the theory of penology from that of protection plus retribution to that of protection plus reform, comes a demand that

prisoners shall have every opportunity to be restored to normal society. One evidence of this change is the growing demand that prisoners be given a chance to work; and this movement is being aided by the war shortage of labor. Society can no longer tolerate the idea of jails and prisons filled with idle able-bodied men and women, a large proportion of whom are in need of the vocational training that society has neglected to give them before they have become a social menace. Nor will that national nuisance, the tramp, be much longer endured. What the localities and even the states have failed to accomplish, the federal government will probably undertake with its usual thoroughness. Thus will one more step be taken toward nationization.

*Law Making.*—In the discussion of legislative bodies and the law making process, especially of the federal government, the lack of close co-ordination between the legislative and executive branches will appear—our “check and balance” system. The pupils will be interested to learn of the recent proposals to give the President's Cabinet seats in both House and Senate, with the right to present bills and debate questions in which their respective departments are interested, but not to vote. If, besides this, some way could be found for keeping Congress and the President always of the same political party, real party government would have emerged and the party in power could be held responsible for results. Of course, during a war this is not so important, as the national exigency is then too great to permit of leisurely debate. It must not be forgotten that despite the constitutional want of touch between Congress and the President, the legislative power of the latter is growing rapidly. This means that the country is learning what private organizations of all sorts learned long ago, that the person or group which is devoting all its time and energy to carrying out the policies of the organization is usually best qualified to advise as to what ought to be done next. In government this means the right of the executive to initiate legislation, as well as the more familiar power of veto. Rightly interpreted, this does not interfere with the function of the legislative, whose best usefulness lies mainly in the exercise of powers of supervision and final control.

*Party Government.*—Despite the fact that they are not unmitigated blessings, no representative democracy has ever succeeded in getting along without political parties. Parties are the great unifying force in government, especially in a government of the federal type, such as ours. And young people will evince considerable interest in the fundamentals of party organization and election machinery, especially when the discussion of them is held at the time of a primary or a general election. Whether the war and what is to follow will hasten the day of responsible party government in the United States, no one can foretell; but the growing power of the President, already noted, is a look in that direction. What effect the coming of woman suffrage, minority representa-

tion, initiative, referendum and recall will have on political parties the future must determine.

*Study of Vocations.*—Two or three additional possibilities in civic education are coming into view for the junior high school. One is a study of vocations that shall guide the boy and girl into wise choices of future occupations, so that their citizenship in industry may be as helpful as their citizenship in other relations of life. Surely never in our history was it of such vital importance to the individual and the nation that our young people should not rush blindly into the first "job" that offers, but should be helped to look into the not distant future and see where they can be of the most use in the world. It must be remembered that neither the rich idler nor the poor one is a good citizen, and that even the industrial misfit will hardly be tolerated in the strenuous days that are ahead.

*Comparative Civics.*—Another possibility is that of a sort of comparative civics, one that shall make a study of the way that elements of civic welfare were being secured and safeguarded in the leading European countries before the war. How better could young people acquire an insight into foreign ways of doing things and a sympathy with the civic problems others have had to meet? And how better could they gain an understanding of our civic agencies and activities than through such a sympathetic study? Considerable information is already available, and the coming of peace will multiply it many times over.

This course in comparative civics—if we may call it that—would afford a splendid opportunity for an elementary study of the responsible Cabinet system of government that prevails to-day in England and France, and of the irresponsible Emperor-Chancellor system that held Germany in its iron grip.

"The pupils would learn that whenever in either England or France the cabinet, which initiates all important legislation, can no longer get its bills passed by the popular house of the national legislature it is expected to give way to another group of men who do have its confidence. Should the cabinet, however, believe that public opinion is with it and not with the house, it may test the matter by having the king or the president dissolve the house and order a new election. If the new body of legislators still opposes the cabinet the latter has no alternative but to resign. Thus the popular will is ascertained and brought to bear on the legislative machinery with a promptness and certainty not found in our own country.

"On the other hand, the pupils would discover that all legislation in Germany is initiated and finally controlled, not by the popular house but by an aristocratic appointive upper house, which in turn is controlled by the emperor. All important measures originate apparently in secret conferences between an irremovable emperor and a chancellor appointed by him, are then introduced by the latter into the upper house, and only reach the lower house as a sort of after-thought. Here they may be amended or rejected; but as the emperor never yields, and as he may dissolve the popular house at any time with the consent of the upper house—which is never refused—in the long run he has his way and his measures are passed by both houses.

"It may interest the class to learn that the German fed-

eral constitution fails to hold the chancellor accountable to either legislative body, and he therefore considers himself responsible only to the emperor, who appoints him. Even a school boy or girl can easily understand what a radical transformation would be effected in German political life if the chancellor's responsibility to the popular lower house should be definitely fixed, by law or custom. Another revolutionary step would be taken by redistricting the Empire so as to give the legislative districts containing the larger towns and cities the representation to which their population entitles them. Apparently this would mean the permanent loss of power by the reactionary junkers and its transference to the radical socialists. Taken together these two political reforms would go far toward democratizing Germany."<sup>6</sup>

Hitherto, anything like comparative government has been reserved for the freshman or sophomore year in college. But this terrible war has revealed to us in startling fashion the importance of stamping indelibly upon the plastic minds of youth the vital distinction between autocracy and democracy; between the land of popular rights and a belief in the live-and-let-live policy, on the one hand, and the land of Kultur, Kaiser, and "Deutschland über alles," on the other. The two points of view are irreconcilable, as are the practices that embody them. The world cannot tolerate both, any more than our country could have survived "half slave and half free." The young people should be impressed with the truth that we are in this war to make our ideals prevail in the world. And the teaching of this truth cannot be delayed till college or even high school days are reached.

*Civic Activities of the Junior High Grades.*—In these grades, as in the earlier ones, the fundamental ideas which the pupils should grasp are those of interdependence, service, co-operation through public or private agencies. This, after all, is only another way of saying that civic activity is the end and aim of civic instruction. The activities which have already been entered into co-operatively by school children twelve to fifteen years of age are those usually identified with some organization in the nature of a junior civic league: Campaigns against flies, mosquitoes, and various tree pests; campaigns for "safety first" and fire prevention; campaigns for clean-up week and a "spotless town;" home gardening and home canning clubs; corn and poultry clubs—all help to train for effective, good-for-something citizenship. The Junior City Police, organized by Mr. Arthur Woods, former police commissioner of New York City, perhaps best illustrates the extent to which under skilful leadership it is safe and wise to go in this process of civic training for our school boys. It is quite possible that for some time to come the major portion of these civic activities should be

<sup>6</sup> Brown, "The Two Germanys," *Outlook*, March 28, 1917, p. 550. ———, "A Government that Misrepresents," *Outlook*, June 6, 1917, p. 220. Hazen, "The Government of Germany," War Information Series, No. 3, August, 1917. McLaren, "The German Outlook for Parliamentary Government," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1918, p. 618.



embodied in the proposed work of the Junior Red Cross, along with its special war program.<sup>7</sup>

**Junior Red Cross.**—In response to repeated requests from all over the country a department of the American Red Cross was established in November, 1917, under the comprehensive title of "Junior Membership and School Activities." Its national director, President H. N. MacCracken, of Vassar College, is enthusiastic in his belief that it will soon take over and correlate the varied activities of a civic nature already introduced in our schools. Any school may enroll in this organization on payment of a moderate per capita assessment, or on undertaking to do certain specified Red Cross work. No school is to feel unwelcome if it has to substitute work for money, in whole or in part.

Commissioner Claxton gives this new movement his enthusiastic approval. Superintendent Mary C. C. Bradford, former president of the National Education Association, gives it official endorsement, declaring that this junior organization "should be a vital part of every school program." A circular of the American Red Cross declared that its aim in establishing this junior membership is "primarily an educational one;" that it "offers to school children a release of energies, stimulated at the present time by unusual conditions, through organized effort for others." Moreover, this great civic agency proposes "not to cease its work with the cessation of war, but to continue in time of peace its efforts to inculcate the highest duties of citizenship."

The Junior Red Cross has recently published an illustrated Story of the Red Cross, cleverly written for young people. It contains a well-selected list of books for further reading. It has also issued a well-digested Manual on War Relief Activities for Schools, and an equally good one on Community Service. All these bulletins are sent out, like its other publications, from the Red Cross National Headquarters, Washington, D. C. The Chicago chapter of the junior organization was the first in the field, and in October, 1917, it published a Junior Activities Number, devoted to war relief.

**Junior Red Cross War Relief Activities.**—Following is a partial list of the war relief activities already found practical for schools, including the senior high school, for it is hard to draw the line:

1. Cooking and canning, for home and foreign use.
2. Knitting of sweaters, mufflers, wristlets, helmets.
3. Making of surgical dressings.
4. Making of hospital tray cloths from old linen.
5. Making pajamas and surgical shirts.
6. Making of crutches, canes, stretchers.
7. Making of hospital trays and mess tables.
8. Making of warm vests out of kid gloves.
9. Collecting for soldiers' libraries and scrap-books.
10. Distributing war literature (recipes, bulletins, etc.) to the homes.

<sup>7</sup> For source material on War Activities of Interest to the Junior High Grades, see p. 500.

11. Collecting Red Cross supplies from the homes.
12. First aid—burns, cuts, poisons, drowning.
13. High school girls help nurse in their own home.
14. High school girls co-operate with school nurses.
15. High school girls help in "health nursing," i. e., of children and handicapped persons.
16. Health conservation from communicable diseases through organized school clubs or leagues.
17. Home gardening for boys and girls, wherever possible.
18. Farm work for older boys, carefully supervised.
19. Making of posters and other emergency advertising.
20. Home-talent music, drama, pageants, etc.

School chapters of the Junior Red Cross are being established throughout the country, so planned as to carry a strong appeal for both war and peace. This means that much of the splendid energy of the classes in cooking, sewing, and shopwork will be enlisted in its cause. Moreover, there will be added incentive for thrift clubs and for junior civic leagues—not to mention such auxiliary organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the like.

The part for teachers of civics to keep firmly in mind is this, that as the novelty wears off, more and more the impetus for these varied activities must come from the civics classes. There, if anywhere, must be given the background, the motive, the inspiration for it all. This is no light obligation that is facing the teaching of civics. But those who believe that the New Civics is a point of view, a life, the school training-ground for citizenship in a democracy, will gladly face the issue and assume the responsibility.

No pains should be spared to impress much of the foregoing upon the pupils, for the result should amply repay the effort. First, it will give added interest to the class-work; second, it will help the young people to appreciate the immense significance of the great epoch in which we have entered; and third, it will serve as one of the best possible mediums for carrying war messages (thrift, conservation, Red Cross, etc.) into the homes—for the school reaches more homes, and more different kinds of homes, than any other agency.

It is suggested that where the course of study provides for only one year of civics, effort should be made to present the principles suggested in this bulletin to all the pupils of the elementary and junior high school grades. This may be done during history-periods, in connection with the English work, or at morning assembly.

#### SUGGESTED READINGS.

##### Health.

New Spirit of the New Army. *Outlook*, January 23, 1918, p. 140.

Our New Cities, the Army Cantonments. *Survey*, October 27, 1917, p. 88.

Forty-eight Cities Made to Order. *Literary Digest*, May 26, 1917, p. 1591.

Tuberculosis in France. *Survey*, May 5, 1917, p. 112.

Wonders of War Surgery. *Current History*, February 1, 1917, p. 905.

Conserving a Nation's Man-power. *National Geographic*, September, 1917, pp. 254-78.

Keeping the Workers Well. *Literary Digest*, January 5, 1918, p. 21.

Business Men and the Clean-up Campaign. *American City*, March, 1917, p. 285.

How One Million Flies Were Killed. *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 4, 1917, p. 101.

Campaign for Exterminating the Fly. *American City*, June, 1917, p. 623.

Anti-Alcohol Movement. *Outlook*, October, 1917, p. 240.

Dry Look Ahead. *Survey*, September 15, 1917, p. 524.

Prohibition or War. *Outlook*, September 12, 1917, p. 46.

National Menace of Rural Bad Health. *Outlook*, February 21, 1917, p. 321.

#### *Protection of Life and Property.*

Defense by Aircraft. *Outlook*, April 4, 1917, p. 611.

Lesson of Three Years of Warfare in the Air. *Current History*, October, 1917, p. 73.

Defense is in the Air. *Independent*, February 19, 1917, p. 303.

How Our Airmen Can Win the War. *Literary Digest*, June 30, 1917, p. 1978.

Fourth Arm in Warfare. *Outlook*, March 21, 1917, p. 506.

Trapping the Pirate U-Boat. *Literary Digest*, August 8, 1917, pp. 21-2.

Bringing in the Wounded. *Literary Digest*, November 3, 1917, p. 78.

Donkey-back Wireless for War. *Literary Digest*, April 28, 1917, p. 1252.

Community at Work for the War; Lake Forest's War Emergency. *Ladies' Home Journal*, October, 1917, p. 26.

#### *Education.*

How the War Has Affected the Schools. *Outlook*, October 31, 1917, p. 324.

War for Children. *Outlook*, October 3, 1917, p. 172.

Children's Bit in the Wars. *Survey*, February 3, 1917, p. 520.

Schoolboy and Child Labor. *Survey*, August 4, 1917, p. 388.

American Library Association War Service. *Outlook*, January 23, 1918, p. 158.

Tools as Well as Guns. *Survey*, April 14, 1917, p. 35.

Nationalizing of American Education. *Outlook*, May 23, 1917, p. 142.

Making Culture Democratic. *Outlook*, May 16, 1917, p. 102.

#### *Recreation.*

Training Camp Commissions. *Survey*, October 6, 1917, pp. 2-7.

With the Boys in Camp. *Independent*, October 6, 1917, p. 16.

In the Rookies' Playtime. *Survey*, May 12, 1917, p. 137.

Making a Singer of Sammy. *Outlook*, October 31, 1917, p. 347.

#### *Civic Beauty.*

City Planning in War Time. *Literary Digest*, July 14, 1917, p. 21.

Cities While You Wait. *Literary Digest*, December 22, 1917, p. 16.

City Building: New Art That is Being Born of the War. *Current Opinion*, September, 1917, p. 196.

#### *Transportation.*

All Railroads in One System. *Current History*, November, 1917, p. 228-9.

What War Means to Railways. *Current Opinion*, October, 1917, p. 283.

Government Operation of Railways. *Outlook*, January 16, 1918, p. 102.

The Legs of an Army. *Outlook*, April 18, 1917, p. 696.

#### *Wealth.*

For valuable information on war thrift and conservation, consult the material prepared and published by the Committee on Public Information, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Story of Sugar. *Outlook*, December 5, 1917, p. 555.

Corn—Our National Food. *Literary Digest*, January 19, 1918, p. 28.

How My Summer Garden Became a Winter Garden. *Ladies' Home Journal*, June, 1917, p. 64.

Digging at the Root of the Food Problem. *Outlook*, December 5, 1917, p. 560.

Why and How. *Outlook*, October 31, 1917, p. 331.

Starving Little Neutrals. *Literary Digest*, October 27, 1917, pp. 7-9.

Shall the World Starve? *Country Gentleman*.

Appalling Waste of the War. *Current History*, September 8, 1917, pp. 452-5.

More Heat With Less Coal. *Outlook*, November 28, 1917, p. 524.

Save Coal and Help Win the War. *Outlook*, December 19, 1917, p. 660.

How Women Are Revolutionizing the Industries of Europe. *Current Opinion*, July, 1917, p. 60.

Mobilizing Woman's Service. *Independent*, June 16, 1917, p. 512.

Women and War Work. *Survey*, May 19, 1917, p. 153.

Pensions or Insurance. *Outlook*, September 26, 1917, p. 119.

Soldiers' Insurance. *Outlook*, September 26, 1917, p. 121.

To Insure Uncle Sam's Fighter. *Literary Digest*, September 15, 1917, p. 76.

Insurance for Soldiers and Sailors. *Survey*, September 8, 1917, pp. 504-5.

Insurance Instead of Pensions. *Independent*, September 22, 1917, p. 484.

Compensation for Invalids of the War. *Survey*, September 22, 1917, p. 541.

#### *Immigration.*

For material on Americanization, write to H. H. Wheaton, Chief, Division of Immigrant Education, National Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

Education and Protection for Immigrants. *Survey*, March 10, 1917, p. 669.

How the Light Breaks Through. *Outlook*, January 2, 1918, p. 13.

Laggards at Night School. *Survey*, January 26, 1918, p. 462.

To Make New York an American City. *Survey*, September 15, 1917, p. 527.

#### *Taxation.*

Paying for the War. *Independent*, October 6, 1917, pp. 7-8.

Drafting Every Pocketbook. *Literary Digest*, October 13, 1917, pp. 14-16.

Uncle Sam's War Revenues. *Current Opinion*, October, 1917, p. 221-2.

Who Pays for Cost of War. *Current History*, July, 1917, pp. 134-6.

America's War Taxes. *Review of Reviews*, June 7, 1917, p. 615.

How to Finance Our War Expenses. *Literary Digest*, April 21, 1917, p. 1230.

Taxing Wealth to Pay for War. *Survey*, April 7, 1917, p. 20.

#### *Law Making.*

Our Changing Institutions. *World's Work*, August, 1917, p. 357.

Historic Joint Session of Congress. *Current History*, May, 1917, p. 207.

Good and Evil of Our War Congress. *Literary Digest*, October 20, 1917.

#### *Party Government.*

Beard. American Government and Politics.

Young. The New American Government and Its Work.

#### *War Activities of Interest to Junior High Grades.*

Special Message to American Young Folk. *St. Nicholas*, October, 1917, pp. 1065-7.

War Work for Everybody. *Independent*, October 20, 1917, pp. 136-7.

General Bridge's Message to American Boys and Girls. *St. Nicholas*, July, 1917, p. 779.

Marshalling the Young Civilian Army. *St. Nicholas*, July, 1917, p. 774.

New Spirit of the New Army. *Outlook*, December 12, 1917, p. 604.

Work of American Red Cross. *Current History*, October, 1917, pp. 24-6.

Red Cross Stories. Falkner. Doubleday & Co.

Y. M. C. A. Following the Flag. *Literary Digest*, October 6, 1917, pp. 30-1.

Red Triangle on Firing Line. *Outlook*, September 26, 1917, pp. 132-3.

Salvation Army at Front. *Survey*, October 6, 1917, p. 23.

What the Women Are Doing for Our Army and Navy. *Outlook*, January 23, 1918, p. 149.

War Work of Y. W. C. A. *Literary Digest*, December 8, 1917, p. 34.

Where College Girls Are Doing Social Service. *Literary Digest*, December 1, 1917, p. 40.

#### ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS IN RURAL SCHOOLS, PREPARED BY PROF. J. F. SMITH, BEREA COLLEGE.

##### HOW THE PEOPLE ON THE FARMS AND IN THE FARM SCHOOLS CAN HELP THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

The people who live and work in the open country are least disturbed by the great struggle. They do not have to worry so much about their food and clothing as many other people do. They have had more prosperity since the war began than ever before. They have received higher prices for what they have raised, and have more ready money than at any other time in our nation's history.

It is true that they must give their sons to the great conflict, but others must do the same. They have some difficulty in securing farm help, but others have similar troubles. They have received much more of the rewards, and have borne fewer of the burdens than any other class of people. They are, therefore, in position to render a very great service without sacrificing so much.

There are many ways in which the people of the open country can serve their government during this great conflict, and here are some of the ways:

##### *I. By being loyal to the government.*

1. Help spread the news about what the government is doing. Not all the people on the farms read newspapers. People who do read should keep those who do not informed about what is going on.

2. Help create a sentiment in favor of the added taxes. Many farmers object to any increase in taxes. Convince them, if possible, that paying the additional taxes is one of the smallest ways in which they can help. Do not listen to a man who complains about higher taxes. We must win this fight, and we must help to pay the expenses.

##### 3. Questions on this topic:

a. Mention some ways in which a boy can show his loyalty to his government.

b. How may a girl show her loyalty?

c. How does a flag on the house or in the yard help to encourage loyalty?

d. How does a "current-news club" help in making people more loyal?

e. What are some benefits which we receive from our government?



*II. By producing more food supplies.*

1. Remember that the farmers feed the world. Perhaps the greatest service that farmers can render just now is to produce all the foodstuffs that they possibly can.

The people in America must be fed from the home fields and gardens. The American soldiers must be fed by people who work on the home farms. Our Allies, especially England, France, and Italy, are depending very largely on us for their meat and bread. We ought to realize this and work to meet the emergency.

2. In order to produce more food every man and woman, boy and girl who can ought to do some work in the field or garden. Gardens should be made bigger and better than ever before. Enough should be planted for half a dozen families.

3. Encourage corn clubs, pig clubs, tomato clubs, poultry clubs, and every other kind of club that will help the people on the farms to produce more foodstuffs to put away and sell. Get acquainted with the farm demonstrator and the canning club lady and ask their help.

Don't be too selfish about holding for higher prices. Sell the surplus so people who are hungry may be fed.

Write to the state experiment station or the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., and ask for information about what you want to do. *Do it now!* While some people wait a lot of folks are starving.

*III. By saving all they can.*

1. Save the farm products. Eat plenty and feed the stock well, but don't waste any foodstuffs.

Cut the corn and thus save all the fodder. Put away the potatoes so they will keep all winter. Sell all that are not needed.

Can the squash, the beans, the peas, some of the pumpkins, the spinach, the corn, and other vegetables. If you don't know how, get a bulletin from the Department of Agriculture, Washington, and find out. Put up all the fruits you can. Remember that a lot of people won't have any of these things unless you put up enough for yourself and have some to spare.

2. Save what meat you need and sell the rest at once. Thousands of people will have to go hungry because a lot of farmers will doubtless hold their meat, lard, etc., for a higher price. The thing to do just now is not to try to get rich on the farm, but try to help feed the rest of the world!

3. If you have money enough, buy a Liberty Bond. The government needs the money more than you probably need a new auto. There will be plenty of autos after the war is over and money to pay for them, provided you help the government to win the war.

If money is too scarce for the Liberty Bond, see the postmaster or the banker about the "War Savings Certificates," or some other safe means of lending money in small quantities to the Government.

Small amounts loaned to the government will be safe, and will be paid back at any time with interest.

## 4. Questions on this topic:

a. Mention some ways in which people are wasteful.

b. Suggest how this waste may be prevented.

c. How may farm boys and girls help to prevent waste?

d. Mention some ways of saving money.

e. How may farmers use their money for the government?

f. How may farmers' wives assist in saving?

*IV. By doing everything possible to keep themselves and other people in good health.*

1. It takes soldiers to win victories. Only the strongest, healthiest men make good soldiers. Fully half of the soldiers for our armies and navy must come from the farm homes. The people on the farms, therefore, have a great responsibility in keeping diseases from their homes.

2. Fight the enemies of good health on the farm. Here are some of them:

Tuberculosis, typhoid, la grippe, pneumonia, over-eating, poorly prepared foods, the social diseases, alcoholic drinks, the over-use of tobacco, the habitual use of patent medicines, sleeping in closed-up rooms.

Everything that can be done to ward off contagious diseases—and most diseases on the farm are of that kind—to keep people living clean, pure lives, to do away with the use of so much alcohol, patent medicines and tobacco, to persuade people to eat only well-prepared food and sleep with open windows will go a long way towards insuring plenty of healthy men for the army and workmen for the fields.

## 3. Get bulletins from these places:

State Board of Health.

Tuberculosis Commission.

Department of Agriculture, Washington.

American Medical Association, Chicago.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

County or City Health Officer.

Study these bulletins, act upon their suggestions, and tell other people about them.

## 4. Questions on this topic:

a. What are some of the chief causes of sickness in your community?

b. Suggest how these causes may be removed.

c. What is the chief value in outdoor sleeping?

d. Can you account for so much sickness among children?

e. How would you explain the increase of sickness with the coming of the housefly?

f. How could you persuade people that most patent medicines are worthless or harmful?

*V. By supporting the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., and other organizations that are looking after the health and morals of the soldiers.*

1. The American Red Cross has full responsibility for caring for the sick and wounded on the field, and

for taking care of the disabled in the hospitals. It sends out the doctors and nurses, pays their expenses and builds and equips hospitals.

Every farmer who believes in taking care of the soldiers after they are sick and wounded should contribute to the support of the Red Cross.

2. The Young Men's Christian Association is the organization which has the official responsibility of taking care of the morals and health of the soldiers before they become sick. It has both men and women stationed at all the training camps and near the fighting lines who entertain and encourage the soldiers, furnish them with stationery and reading material, hold religious services for them and bring to them the good cheer of home and friends.

3. Learn from the nearest Red Cross organization and from the nearest Y. M. C. A. what these organizations are doing for the soldiers.

Write to the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., and to the Y. M. C. A. headquarters, 124 East 28th Street, New York, and get literature about the work. Study it carefully and tell others about it.

#### VI. By encouraging the building of good roads.

1. Prosperity on the farm depends largely upon good roads. The rapid movement of foodstuffs cannot be carried out unless the roads are in good condition. It is unnecessary for farmers to produce large quantities of food unless they can get it promptly on the markets.

2. Railroads are crowded now, and will be more crowded as the war goes on. Coal, large supplies of food, horses, and soldiers by the tens of thousands must be moved, and huge quantities of ammunition must be hurried to the coast and across to France.

More of the farm traffic will have to be probably carried on by auto truck and wagon. For this good roads are badly needed.

3. It may become necessary to move large numbers of troops across country on short notice. Here the auto trucks are necessary and good roads are indispensable.

4. Questions on this topic:

- a. Are there plenty of good roads in your community?
- b. What can be done to keep the roads in better repair?
- c. Do the farmers have any difficulty in getting their produce to market?
- d. Convince some farmer that it is always good economy to spend money on road improvement.

#### VII. By doing everything possible to save the forests and the soil.

1. The chief source of food for the allied armies is the soil on the American fields. This soil must be made to yield all it can, but it must not be spoiled in

the yielding. The American farmers and millions of the European peoples will need it after the war is over. It must therefore be used with great care.

2. American forests must supply much of the timber that goes to make the merchant marine fleets of the allied countries.

The reckless destruction of timber by lumbermen should be checked. Forest fires should be guarded against carefully.

Each farmer can help preserve the timber supply by taking care of the timber he has.

3. Questions on this topic:

- a. Are there any idle fields in your community that ought to be producing?
- b. What means are being used by the farmers about you to save their soil?
- c. How can a farm boy help to save soil and timber?
- d. Would it help much in saving the lumber if farmers would take better care of their farm implements?
- e. Mention some ways in which they can do this.

S. de Madariaga, in his "Spain's Home War," in the *Contemporary Review* for October, says: "In Spain as in Europe two main tendencies confront each other: the democratic tendency towards government by consent and the reactionary tendency towards government by power. The stronghold of reaction in contemporary Spain is formed by the upper and middle classes which own the land, and crowd the bureaucracies. Socialism and what remains of Republicanism, together with the intellectual element of the country, constitute the stronghold of pro-Ally feeling. Owing to General Foch's victories, Spanish militarists are crestfallen. They know they must keep peace with the country when their Prussian friends cannot help them with the prestige of their arms. General Foch has gained victories on the Spanish front."

*The Nation* for November 2 publishes William M. Sloane's "Napoleon and Hohenzollern," in which the author states: "If the western nations enter on the task of forming a league with full illumination of the high morality which we believe dominates the twentieth century, barriers of language, race and tradition may be so far levelled as to make a working system for certain very practical purposes. The cost of this will be terrific. There must be peace armaments, indefinite and perpetual, but insignificant in size compared with the existing ones. Pride of nationality must be humbled, greed of the industrial age must be checked, and pursuit of wealth, individually and collectively, must be halted. Above all, expansion of imperial power in backward lands must stop short, and the tutelage of inferior states and peoples must be confined to example.

*The World's Work* for December bears the sub-title, "Victorious Peace Manual," and contains articles upon Poland, Turkey, Italia Irredenta, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria-Hungary, and Jugoslavia. The articles are accompanied with colored maps and many excellent illustrations from photographs.

# A Study in Citizenship

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN B. SMITH, STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE, GREELEY, COLORADO.

An outline for a study in citizenship with the emphasis on war conditions and the responsibilities associated with them. Prepared by Edwin B. Smith, Professor of History and Political Science, Colorado State Teachers' College, in co-operation with the Extension Department.

## 1. The changing conception of the study of civics.

"A true political education is a very different thing from such that passes current under the title. It is not a study of facts about government. A man should possess a knowledge of the workings of our social and political machinery, but that they constitute a necessary and valuable training for citizenship we are justified in making protest. As ordinarily taught they tend to fix the attention of the pupil on the mechanism of the government rather than on its underlying principles; to exaggerate the tendency toward laying stress on institutions rather than on individuals; to prepare the minds of the next generation to look for superficial remedies for political evils, instead of seeing that the only true remedy lies in the creation of a sound public opinion." (President Hadley, Yale University.)

- a. The earlier study of civics only a consideration of the machinery of government.
- b. Community civics a study of the conditions of the community, local, state, national, and international; relations between the individual and the community.

"Community civics helps the child to know his community—not merely a lot of facts about it, but the meaning of his community life, what it does for him, how it does it, what the community has a right to expect from him, and how he may fulfill his obligation; meanwhile cultivating in him the essential qualities and habits of good citizenship." ("Teaching of Government," pp. 83-4.)

### (1) Aim of community civics to lead the pupil:

To see the importance and significance of the elements of community welfare in their relation to himself and to the communities of which he is a member.

To know the social agencies, governmental and voluntary, that exist to secure these elements of community welfare.

To recognize his civic responsibility, present and future, and to respond to them by appropriate action.

"The aim of civics teaching is to help the child to realize himself as a member of each political group that does work for him." (Committee of Eight.)

### (2) The chief emphasis, *the obligation of the citizen to serve the community.*

## 2. A present duty of the school the creation of right attitudes on the part of the pupils, and indirectly among the people generally.

"The war is bringing to the minds of the people a new appreciation of the problems of national life and a deeper understanding of the meaning and aims of democracy.

"In these vital tasks of acquiring a broader view of human possibilities, the school must have a large part. I urge that teachers increase materially the time and at-

tention devoted to instruction bearing directly on the problems of community and national life.

"Such a plea is in no way foreign to the spirit of American public education. Nor is it a plea for a temporary enlargement of the school program appropriate merely to the period of the war. It is a plea for the realization in public education of the new emphasis which the war has given to the ideals of democracy and to the broader conceptions of national life." (President Wilson's "Address to the Schools," 1917.)

"The schools are the laboratory of citizenship. The children are little citizens, and must be guided in such present experience as will make certain their future dedication to the welfare of the Republic." (President Bradford, National Education Association, in "A Call to the Colors.")

"The military strength of France lies . . . in the moral strength and spiritual unity of the French people. The unity is not forced. It is the flower of the French spirit, the product of their innate love of their home land, fostered and developed by a wise national education. Moral and patriotic instruction has for years formed the heart of national education there. The truths which the country needs in the great conflict, the schools make known everywhere." (J. H. Finley, New York Commissioner of Education, "Duties of Schools When the Nation is at War.")

### a. Through knowledge of the general principles of the warring types of government.

"No one can take an intelligent part in a great conflict for the safety of democracy unless he is really interested in and knows something about other nations than his own—about the differences between a republican government like our own and a strong monarchical system like that of the German Empire, in which the most important measures affecting the national welfare may be practically determined by a single hereditary sovereign." (National Board for Historical Service, "Opportunities for History Teachers," p. 4.)

### (1) Autocratic type—Germany. ("The Government of Germany," Committee on Public Information.)

Expressions taken from the public speeches of William II:

"We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone, and to God alone we are responsible for the fulfillment of our duties.

"Only one is master in the country, and that am I. Who opposes me I shall utterly crush to pieces. All of you shall have only one will, and that is my will; there is only one law, and that is my law."

Expressions of Frederick II:

"If possible the powers should be made envious against one another, in order to give occasion for a coup when the opportunity comes.

"If a ruler is obliged to sacrifice his own person for the welfare of his subjects, he is all the more obliged to sacrifice treaty engagements, the continuance of which would be harmful to his country. Is it better that a nation should perish, or that a sovereign should break his word?"



"Statesmanship can be reduced to three principles: First, to maintain your power, and, according to circumstances, to extend it; second, to form alliances for your own advantage; third, to command fear and respect even in the most disastrous times.

"Do not be ashamed of making interested alliances from which you can derive the whole advantage. Do not hesitate to break them if your interests require.

"To despoil your neighbors is to deprive them of the means of injuring you.

"When he is about to conclude a treaty—if a sovereign remembers that he is a Christian, he is lost."

For expressions by Nietzsche, Treitschke, and Bernhardi, see "The Ideals of Our War," National Security League.)

- (a) Autocratic power supreme; people in absolute subjection.
- (b) Lower legislative branch a "debating" society; the upper representing the princes, not the people.

"As the German Imperial Government stands to-day it controls 170,000,000 armed for war as no territory ever was before. It is the last fortress of privilege and despotism the world over. While it remains the world cannot be made safe for democracy."

- (c) All resources, human and natural, for the development of state power.

Manufacture, commerce, and labor brought under the control of the privileged class through investment in business by the privileged class, army positions for families of the wealthy, labor legislation to satisfy ignorant labor—sick benefits, industrial insurance, old age pensions.

- (d) Education implies class distinction.

Volksschulen (elementary public schools) for the people generally, 10,000,000 children, over 90 per cent. of all school children, 1911.

Middle and higher schools for those of noble birth and those to become officials and professional men, 970,000, in 1911.

The Volksschulen for the training of the subject class in obedience, patience, persistence, and thoroughness; the others for the controlling class.

"The educated class shoulder the burden and possess the responsibility of government; the unschooled are directed and cared for as dependents." (*Century Magazine*, December, 1917.)

- (2) Democratic type—the United States. ("American Interest in Popular Government," Committee on Public Information.)

Expressions of Washington:

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Give to mankind the example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

President Wilson:

"These are the things we shall stand for:

"That all nations are interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equal responsibility for their maintenance.

"That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right and privilege.

"That peace cannot be secured by or justly rest upon an armed balance of power.

"That governments derive their just powers from the

consent of the governed, and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations.

"That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common consent.

"That the national armament should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety."

- (a) The primary interest, popular government.
- (b) Individual initiative, self-reliance.
- (c) Education recognizes every child as possessing inherent right to the full development of capacities.

- b. Through knowledge of the organization of government in the war period. (A. B. Hart, "America at War.")

- (1) The national government.

- (a) The war president.

President Wilson's theory of the office is that the president who conscientiously seeks the welfare of the people is not bound by any constitutional limitations, but that he may do any service that he is able to accomplish.

- (b) The congress; war measures and means.
- (c) The cabinet: war, navy, and treasury departments.
- (d) The national council of defense.
- (e) Volunteer service of industrial and professional leaders—"dollar-a-year-men."
- (f) The food administration.
- (g) The fuel administration.

- (2) The state government.

- (a) The state governors and legislatures.
- (b) State councils of defense.
- (c) Local committees.

- (3) Local organizations.

- (a) Patriotic associations.
- (b) Organizations connected with the school, such as parent-teachers' associations.

- c. Through knowledge of the operation of government. ("America at War.")

- (1) The army and navy. ("National Service Handbook," Committee on Public Information.)

- (a) Types of men in the service:

The militia.  
Regular army men.  
Volunteers.  
Conscripted men.

- (b) Conscription.

Lists of men between 21 and 31.  
The drawings.  
Exemptions for physical reasons.  
Classification.

- (c) The training of men.

Officers' training camps.  
Cantonments for the men.

- (d) Supplies and materials.

- (e) Transportation.

- (f) Organization for control.

General staff.  
Commanding officers.  
War Department.  
The President.

- (2) Financing the war.

In recent times the theory of taxation has changed to the one that taxes shall be levied on the basis of ability to pay.

## (a) The general problem.

To secure taxes (funds to defray the expenses of the government) without crippling the country in any way has been the aim of the government.

Shall wealth pay the taxes, or shall the people generally?

Recognition must be given to

The need for the growth of industry.

The need for the protection of labor for his physical and other welfare—the efficiency of labor must not be impaired.

The middle policy pursued; necessity to keep the support of public opinion.

## (b) The kinds of taxation. (Every bank has material that may be had upon request.)

Income tax.

War excess profits tax.

Minor forms of taxation.

Tax on beverages.

Cigars and tobacco.

Facilities furnished by public utilities and insurance.

Excise taxes: automobiles, musical instruments, moving pictures, sporting goods.

## (c) Other sources of revenue.

Liberty bonds.

United States certificates of indebtedness.

War-saving plan: thrift stamps and war-savings stamps.

## (3) The food administration. (Conservation and Regulation.)

(a) The food Administration bill: "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel." (August 10, 1917.)

(b) Organization. (Hoover's plan.)

Centralized and single responsibility.

Delegation of this responsibility to decentralized administrative organs.

Central Food Administration at Washington.

Federal Food Administration for the respective states.

(c) The food administration at Washington.

Divisions:

Popular education.

Organization of the households.

Support of the activities of the state.

Control of commodities.

Obtaining the support of the distributing system of the country.

Conduct of the grain trade.

Volunteer co-operation under law.

(d) The federal administration in the states.

Federal food administrator: serves without pay; duty to administer the provisions of the food control law as it applies to the state conditions, to co-ordinate the state food activities with the work of the administration.

State organization as the needs may be.

(e) Conservation of food.

Compulsory conservation: other nations have used the card system.

Voluntary conservation: education and patriotism the basis for saving food and eliminating waste.

Methods employed.

Co-operation of the established agencies.

Trade organizations.

Educational institutions.

Women's organizations.

Libraries.

Hotels and restaurants.

Transportation companies.

Direct appeal to consumer.

Visual instruction.

Speaking campaigns.

Personal canvass.

Co-operation of the press.

## (f) Purpose of the administration:

The saving of food and the avoidance of waste.

The substitution of plentiful foods for the less plentiful.

## (g) Method of control.

General system of licensing.

To limit prices.

To prevent speculation.

To keep all food products moving to the consumer (no hoarding).

To limit contracts for future delivery.

Application is to "all persons, firms, corporations, and associations engaged in operating cold storage plants, elevators, and to all manufacturers and importers." It is not applicable to businesses under \$100,000 in amount.

## (h) Price fixing.

Not specifically included in the food control act, but assumed in carrying out the administration of the food control.

## (4) Food production in charge of the secretary of agriculture, 20,000 trained assistants over the country.

(a) Increased production of food materials.

(b) Food preservation: canning, drying, preserving.

(c) Control of pests, campaigns against disease of crops.

(d) Reclamation development.

(e) Boys' and girls' clubs.

(f) Education for the agricultural population.

## (5) The fuel administration. (Conservation of Fuel, U. S. Fuel Administration.)

(a) Early work of the Federal Trade Commission led to:

(b) Recommendations for government control over production and distribution; government control of the means of transportation. Law of August, 1917, gave president power to fix prices of coke and coal; take over any plant when necessary; purchase all coal and coke for resale.

(c) Organization follows closely that of the food administration.

(d) Services; control of production and prices; also of labor.

## 3. The present obligation of the citizen.

"As yet the people of the United States has not proven that democracy is the most effective form of government. We have failed to develop in the average citizen a sense of personal responsibility for the conduct of the government, sufficiently strong to translate itself into continuous service for the common good.

"Except in crises, we have not given to it the attention received by business matters of minor importance. Politics has been the by-product of a self-centered existence." (S. S. Menken, Congress of National Service, 1918.)

- a. The support of the government's war policy through
  - (1) Military service in time of need.
  - (2) Financial support through taxation and other contribution.
  - (3) Production as opportunity offers.
  - (4) Conservation as directed by the government.
  - (5) Obedience to duly constituted authority.
- b. Proper attitude toward our population through recognition of
  - (1) The diversity of races in our citizenship.
  - (2) The problems of immigration.
  - (3) The position of the enemy alien.

"Some of the best stuff of America has come out of foreign lands, and some of the best stuff in America is in the men who are naturalized citizens of the United States. I would not be afraid upon the test of America first to take a census of all foreign-born citizens of the United States, for I know that a vast majority of them came here because they believed in America; and their belief in America has made them better citizens than some people who were born in America." (President Wilson, "A Tribute to the Foreign Born, in American Loyalty," Committee on Public Information.)

"A century and a half ago Americans of English birth rose to free this country from the oppression of the rulers of England. To-day Americans of German birth are called upon to rise, together with their fellow citizens of all races, to free not only this country, but the whole of the civilized world from the oppression of German rulers, an oppression far less capable of being endured and of far graver portent." (Otto Kahn, "American Loyalty," p. 8.)

c. Right thinking.

In a democracy no great war can be successfully waged without continued and intelligent popular approval. The fate of the nation depends upon popular opinion. This is indicated by the estimate that through their work

14 men are required to support 1 soldier.

80 men are required to support 1 sailor.

It has been stated that "agriculture is the foundation for war; mechanical production of instruments, the means; and the men in the battle line, the agents for the winning of war."

After men, materials, and money have been provided, then attention is directed toward the morals of the people. The importance of the right attitude of mind is indicated by General Pershing's comment, "We will smash the German line in France if you will smash the Hun propaganda at home."

While constructive criticism is not to be suppressed, destructive criticism should be suspected.

Senator Hiram Johnson, in the United States Senate, February, 1918, said: "I protest against the set phrases, 'pro-German,' 'disloyal,' and 'partisan,' which have so indiscriminately been applied to men patriotically differing from those who assume themselves to be sole exponents of the thought of the nation. May the day have gone forever when an American citizen shall be precluded by fear of denunciation and the epithet of disloyalty from expressing his honest and patriotic sentiments."

The other side of the case has been stated effectively by Elihu Root: "After the decision of the country to make war, the only issue left for the individual citizen

is whether he is for or against his country. From this time on arguments against the war in which the country is engaged are enemy arguments . . . the purpose and effect is so plain that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the greater part of them (those who make the arguments) are at heart traitors to the United States and wilfully seeking to bring about the triumph of Germany and the defeat of the United States."

4. The present obligation of alien enemies.
  - a. They are here by courtesy and they are under obligation to act accordingly; internment may be necessary.
  - b. They have come to improve their condition, and they should recognize their opportunities.
  - c. They must obey the laws.
  - d. They must give no aid to the enemy; on the contrary
  - e. They are under moral obligation to stand by the country in which they have chosen to make their home, and to show gratitude for the rights and privileges which they have enjoyed in America. (A. B. Hart, "Suggestions for Teachers," National Security League.)
5. Special opportunity of the teacher.
  - a. To promote right living through recognition of hygienic laws. The draft revealed the fact that 20 per cent. of those called were unfit physically.
  - b. To promote general welfare through attention to "industrial safeguards."
  - c. It is estimated that over a million deaths occur annually that might be prevented.
  - d. To encourage the Americanization of foreigners.
  - e. To teach social justice.
  - f. To suppress extreme radicalism.
  - g. To be a community leader.

The opportunity comes through the Red Cross work, through other patriotic service.

- h. To create the ideals for the present and the future in citizenship by
  - (1) A study of the problems of democracy.
  - (2) The attitude, "Good government has become every man's business."
  - (3) The effort to interpret "The world must be made safe for democracy" as implying,
 

The selfish relation of the individual to the war.

The lives of men.

The honor of women.

The education of children.

Freedom of speech and of religion.

The right to labor and enjoy the results.

The right to property exempt from burdensome taxation.

The liberties embodied in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States.

6. Conclusions.

- a. Present necessities a test of patriotism.

"I am firmly convinced that the independence of no nation is safe, that the liberty of no individual is sure, until the military despotism which holds the German people in the hollow of its hand had been made impotent and harmless forever. Appeals to justice, to moral obligation, to honor, no longer avail with such a power. There is but one way to restore peace to the world, and that is by overcoming the physical might of German imperialism by force of arms." (Secretary of State Robert Lansing, in "A War of Self-Defense.")



"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them." (President Wilson, message to Congress, April 2, 1917.)

"Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation, whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action, and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by force and intrigue. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail, is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace, and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back." (President Wilson, message to Congress, February 11, 1918.)

b. Patriotism defined. (A. B. Hart.)

- "The Union comes before the states.
- "The Government comes before private business.
- "The National needs come before private ease and gain.
- "The National defense comes before the family.
- "The salvation of the country comes before one's own life."

c. Patriotism expressed by

- Paying taxes; contribution to war funds.
- Subscription to liberty loans.
- Electing and keeping in office men who honestly and intelligently serve America first and at all times.
- Interest in and aid to soldiers' families.
- Patriotic talk to neighbors and friends.
- Civilian service to the government wherever possible.
- Participation in patriotic organizations.
- Military service from those of suitable age.
- Conservation of food and the curtailment of luxuries.
- Insistence upon protection and justice within the country for all classes.

The outline is based on the material that is available through the government and other sources, free to the student, except when otherwise mentioned. In writing for the material, mention the purpose for which it is sought.

Committee on Public Information, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.:

- The Government of Germany.
- A War of Self-Defense.
- National Service Handbook.
- American Loyalty.
- American Interest in Popular Government Abroad.
- Loyalty Leaflets.
- Why America Fights Germany.
- War Encyclopedia. Price, 25 cents.

Full set of publications may be requested.

National Security League, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City:

- How the German Empire Has Menaced Democracy.
- Address of Elihu Root.
- The Representative Idea and the War.
- The Ideals of Our War.

Teachers' Patriotic Leaflets, Vol. 1.

A Concept of National Service.

Knowledge by the People True Basis of National Security.

America at War. Price 50 cents. (A war text-book of 432 pages.)

Full set of publications may be requested.

United States Fuel Administration, Washington, D. C.:

The Conservation of Fuel.

United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C.:

Conservation and Regulation.

The Bureau of Education, Washington. Publications on Civic and National Problems.

McKinley, A. E., Compiler. Collected Materials for the Study of the War. Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Co. 65 cents.

Other material is available. See list in America at War.

## Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Most delightful is William Dean Howell's "Overland to Venice," in the November *Harper's*, a reminiscence of a trip taken in the 60's.

Charles F. Speare's account of "Uncle Sam's War Money," in the October *Review of Reviews*, is a careful, authoritative account of governmental receipts and expenditures during the war.

William S. Culbertson, in his "Commercial Policy and War" (November *Century*), says: "We must not place too great a burden on an untried international organization; we must seek first to perfect the alliance between democracy and national aspirations within the borders of our own nation."

William Roscoe Thayer's "History—Quick or Dead?" in the November *Atlantic*, is of interest to students, teachers and writers of history, and Gamaliel Bradford's "Sarah Alden Ripley," in the same number, is of interest to students of the social history of America.

The unsigned article, "Justice to Germany," which appeared in *The Outlook* for October 23, is a plea for justice rather than revenge on this conquered nation. The justice is to consist of: (1) Exclusion of Germany from League of Nations and peace conference; (2) preservation of German cities—as justice is always constructive; (3) reparation by Germany of damages inflicted on France and Belgium; (4) reparation by Germany of damage done to the navies of allied nations; (5) seizure of landed property of Junker class to provide funds with which to pay damages, and to give the large estates of the nobles to the peasants; (6) dismantling of forts and disorganizing army.

The September number of the *American Journal of Sociology* publishes two very timely articles in their historical interest; one is "The Mexican Situation: Manuel Gamio's Program," by Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, a study of Gamio's book, *Forjando Patria*, which "deals with the forging of a nation out of the iron of the Spaniard and the bronze of the Indian," in which process the Indian seems to be the decisive factor; the other is "Dutch and the Flemish Colonization in Medieval Germany," a study of the influence of the Netherlanders in the development of East Prussia.

Charles M. Schwab's concise and telling article on "Our Industrial Victory," in the *National Geographic Magazine* for September, is especially valuable because of its interesting illustrations. "The American People Must Become Ship-minded," by E. N. Hurley, in the same magazine, is a summons to the American people to build up a naval supremacy after the war.

The November *Scribner's* publishes "The Siberian Chaos," by Johann W. Prues—a Hollander with the American Y. M. C. A. in Russia, in which he gives his personal experiences during the recent counter revolution.

Professor John Dewey says in his "Approach to the League of Nations" (*Dial* for November 2): "The League of Nations whose main purpose is to enforce peace by the extension of a legal mechanism of controversy and litigation is idealistic and academic. . . . But an organization of nations which grew out of common, every-day necessities . . . out of wants and met them, would, once formed, become so indispensable that speedily no one could imagine the world getting on without it."

The *Mexican Review* for July and August contains an excellent review of "Labor Legislation in Mexico," by Ambassador Ynacio Borrillas.

## Victoria Cross Heroes

(Concluded from page 485)

all alone, too, a trench at Gallipoli, killing the seven Turks who occupied it. Kulbir Thapa, of the Gurkha Rifles, was badly wounded in an attack on the German trenches at Mauquissart. He found a British comrade nearby, and despite the entreaties of the latter that he save himself, he remained with him all day and night. In the morning he brought the British soldier through the enemy's wire entanglements and put him in a comparatively safe place. Then he returned to the danger zone and rescued two wounded Gurkhas, one after the other. Afterwards, in broad daylight and under German fire, he brought the British soldier within the lines. Lieutenant-Commander Edward Courtney Boyle dived under the enemy's minefields in the Sea of Marmora and sank two Turkish gunboats and a military transport. Lieutenant Arthur Martin-Leake, who had already been given the Victoria Cross for exploits during the South African War, was given the exceptional award of a clasp to the Cross, for rescuing a large number of wounded at Ypres. Joseph Watts, owner of a fishing smack, with a single small gun fought an Austrian light cruiser with heroic gallantry until the gun was put out of commission. But perhaps the finest figure of the war is that of sixteen-year-old John Travers Cornwell, mortally wounded at the Battle of Jutland, who continued to serve his gun alone, to the end of the action, with the remainder of the gun's crew lying dead and wounded around him. To a memorial in his honor over twenty-one thousand pounds was subscribed, and a picture of the boy, standing by his gun, occupied a place of honor in more than 12,000 English schools. "Jack" Cornwell is the type of hero in England that the war developed and that the award of the Victoria Cross commemorates.

## COMMUNICATION.

19 West 44th Street, New York City.

October 31, 1918.

Editor THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

I should be grateful if friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents connected with his life, which would be of interest in the preparation of a biography, would communicate as soon as practicable with Mr. William Gorham Rice, of Albany. Any such comment, letters and accounts of incidents will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires.

It is my hope that Mr. Rice, aided by such material and by his own already existing collection, may feel disposed to undertake a biography of Mr. Cleveland during the ensuing year.

The assembled letters, comment, publications and records now proposed to be brought together, will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany for the use of Dr. John H. Finley, who some time ago invited Mr. Rice to collaborate with him, or whoever finally may prepare a definitive and documented biography.

The collection thus deposited will also be of permanent value because of its accessibility to anyone who in the future may desire to obtain for historical or other purposes knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's traits, and his opinions and administrative record on public questions.

Mr. Rice was a secretary to Governor Cleveland in Albany, and was, later, by President Cleveland's appointment, a United States Civil Service Commissioner at Washington, and is now a New York State Civil Service Commissioner. He was associated with Mr. Cleveland from 1882 onward, and was always an esteemed and devoted friend.

Inquiries concerning the requests and suggestions made in this letter may be addressed to Mr. Rice at his residence, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, or at The Capitol, Albany.

I am, very truly yours,

FRANCES F. CLEVELAND PRESTON.

## Reports from the Historical Field

News relating to the "city-manager" plan of municipal government will be found in the *Short Ballot Bulletin* for October, 1918 (Vol. 5, No. 5).

The *American Political Science Review* for November, 1918, contains the following articles: "Democratic Ideals and Republican Institutions in India," by B. K. Sarkar; "The Committee System in State Legislatures," by C. L. Smith; "Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on Constitutional Questions," by T. B. Powell. In the department of "Notes and News," an interesting account is given of the expansion of the War Department organization to meet the new needs of war times. Under "Notes on International Affairs," summaries are given of the Russian peace treaties, the Ukrainian and Finnish treaties, the Roumanian treaty, the recognition of the Czecho-Slovak nation, and the conditions of Jugoslavic national unity.

## MIDDLE STATES ASSOCIATION.

The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland met on Saturday, November 30, at Princeton, in conjunction with the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the same territory. The history program was devoted to a discussion of "War Aims and Ideals." Prof. R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, spoke upon "Historical Development;" Dean A. K. Heckel, of Lafayette College, discussed the "War Aims Course;" and Prof. J. Schaefer, of the National Board for Historical Service, described "Literature for Teachers and Students." The local committee, composed of Prof. H. R. Shipman, Prof. C. Robinson, and Miss S. A. Dynes, arranged for an exhibit of literature on the subject and an exhibition of war relics.

## OHIO HISTORY TEACHERS.

The Fifth Annual Session of the Ohio History Teachers' Association was held at Ohio State University, on Friday and Saturday, November 15-16, 1918. Two general topics for discussion were provided: "Ohio in the War," and "How Should the Great War Affect History Instruction?" Under the first the following subjects were presented: "Mobilizing Ohio's Historical Resources," by Prof. A. M. Schlesinger; "Cleveland's War Machine," by Prof. E. J. Benton; "Ohio's German Language Press and the War," by Mr. Carl Wittke; and "Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War," by Prof. Martha L. Edwards.

Under the second topic, the following papers were presented: "Teaching of European History After the War," by Mr. J. W. Ayer; "Teaching of American History After the War," by Mr. C. P. Shively; "Teaching of Civics After the War," by Mr. R. Moley; "Democracy in the Class Room," by Supt. J. R. Patterson; and "Some Problems in the Teaching of History," by Miss Katherine Huntington.

At the business meeting the following officers were chosen: President, Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Denison University; vice-president, Miss Grace Stevens, Dayton; secretary-treasurer, Mr. Carl Wittke, Ohio State University; executive committee, Mr. W. J. Monks, Cleveland; Miss Marjorie Aborn, Oberlin; and Mr. C. P. Shively, Springfield.

## NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATION.

The annual fall meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association will be held at Simmons College, Boston, on Saturday, December 7. The general subject will be "Reconstruction After the Great War." Dr. George N. Nasmyth will speak upon "The League of Nations," and Prof. Edgar Dawson on "Reconstruction and the New Teaching of Civics." At the luncheon the guest of honor will be the Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, who will speak on "The Cloud Lands of History."

## PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY TEACHERS.

Many topics relating to the War and the Schools and Reconstruction and the Schools will be discussed at the sixty-ninth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Educational Association, to be held at Harrisburg, December 30, 1918, to January 2, 1919. Among such topics will be "Patriotic Citizenship," "Genuine Socialization," and "Americanization."

## THE WAR AND THE SCHOOLS.

An appeal addressed "To the Disabled Soldier and Sailor in the Hospital" has been issued by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Its object is to inform those interested as to what the Federal Board can do for those who have been disabled in the war. In simple language the reasonable questions of a soldier are answered, and directions are given as to how the wounded man may secure an education which will make him independent.

"Win the War for Permanent Peace" is the title of a pamphlet issued by the League to Enforce Peace (New York). It contains forty-six addresses delivered at the annual convention of the League held in Philadelphia, May 17 and 18, 1918. The speeches are prefaced by the platform of the League, and a declaration adopted at Independence Hall, May 17, 1918. The speeches are said to "merge into one supreme message—The War Must Be Won by the Absolute Defeat of Germany. Military autocracy must be ended, and, to justify the sacrifices of America and her Allies, a Permanent Peace Must Be Established, guaranteed by a League of Nations." "This book breathes the crusaders' spirit that animates a great people engaged in a Holy War and determined to let no sacrifices stand in the way of victory."

Recent publications of the Federal Board for Vocational Education are the following: "Trade and Industrial Education: Organization and Administration;" "Part-Time Trade and Industrial Education;" "The Home Project as a Phase of Vocational Agricultural Education."

The revelations of August Thyssen, one of Germany's greatest steel manufacturers, have been reprinted in pamphlet form with some supplementary matter, by the Manufacturers' Record Publishing Co. (Baltimore, price 5 cents), under the title, "The Most Damning Revelation of Germany's Turpitude Ever Published."

The Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department has published a pamphlet upon "Questions on the Issues of the War." The questions are largely those which were put by students to instructors in the "War Aims Course" during the summer of 1918. Over one hundred questions are given; no attempt is made to frame correct answers to the questions, but extended lists of readings are given under many of the questions. Thus under question 25: "In the event of peace, will Germany be permitted to build the Berlin-Bagdad Railway?" there are nineteen references to books and magazine articles upon the subject. Forty-one references are given to a question relating to the necessity for German expansion.

The Institute for Public Service (New York) has issued a pamphlet printed in colors illustrating "War Time Drawing" in schools. The suggestions for teachers are largely the work of Mr. J. V. Baron, supervisor of drawing in the public schools of Mt. Vernon, N. Y. As an example of how the war material may be used in drawing classes the booklet is exceedingly interesting.

Documents relating to the Monroe Doctrine are collected in Vol. I, No. 5, of *A League of Nations* (June, 1918). Prof. G. G. Wilson contributes a study upon the Monroe Doctrine after the war. The documents include extracts relating to the Holy Alliance, and the British policy toward the South American States. There are also quotations illustrating the doctrine from the writings of Presidents Monroe, Polk, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Harrison, Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson, and from diplomatic and senatorial documents.



"Liberty, Justice, and Peace" is the title of a small volume (Houghton Mifflin Co.) containing extracts showing American political principles. The series begins with the Declaration of Independence, and ends with President Wilson's address of April 6, 1918. Nine of the President's recent state papers are included.

A series of articles bearing upon a proposed league of nations appears as No. 131 of *International Conciliation*. The pamphlet contains Viscount Grey's speech on the subject and address by Nicholas Murray Butler, and paper by Ordway Tead, entitled, "Labor and the League of Nations;" a study of the international administration of the Danube commerce by Edward Krehbiel and President Wilson's address of September 27, 1918.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has prepared a brief pamphlet upon "Brotherhood of Men and Nations," in which he illustrates the movement toward co-operation in industry, in business, in government, as well as between nations.

The American School Peace League aims in its prize essay contest for 1918-19 to co-operate with President Wilson in the establishment of a league of nations. The prizes for the present school year are (1) teaching the idea of a league of nations; open to senior year students in normal schools. (2) The essential foundations of a league of nations; open to seniors in secondary schools. Three prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars will be given in each of the sets.

Bishop Frank Weston has written an open letter to General Smuts upon the topic, "The Black Slaves of Prussia," in which he describes German industrial and political methods in the African colonies (Houghton Mifflin Co.).

"War Geography Maps" have been prepared by the Denoyer-Geppert Co. (Chicago) under the editorial advice of Prof. S. B. Harding. The series of twelve maps, some of which are printed in colors, includes the world in 1914, the world at war, the growth of Prussia, economic Europe, language map of Europe, Berlin-Bagdad plan, and other topics (\$10.00 for the set).

For the past year the American Geographical Society of New York has been preparing for the United States Government a series of base maps compiled from the latest and best sources. Through the co-operation of the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department, these maps have been made available for classes in the War Issues Course. The full set includes sixty maps, some of which are very large—that of Europe being 61 by 73 inches—and the series will be furnished to institutions giving the War Issues Course for the nominal price of twelve dollars.

The Red Cross Christmas Roll Call and the work of the Junior Four-Minute Men are treated in much detail in No. 6 of the *National School Service* (November 15, 1918). Included are hints to the teacher, material for speeches and special suggestions for primary grades. The number also contains the usual helpful suggestions for carrying national enterprises into the class-room.

The documents relating to the German-Bolshevik Conspiracy, recently given to the press by the Committee on Public Information, have been republished in pamphlet form by the committee. Accompanying the documents is a report upon their authenticity prepared by Dr. J. F. Jameson and Dr. S. N. Harper.

The Institute for Public Service (New York City) has issued a civics brochure with a multiple title and a map on the cover showing the armistice terms. It contains brief discussions of fifty questions relating to the war, to the peace terms, and to reconstruction after the war. The use-

fulness of the pamphlet is limited by the absence of an adequate introduction and table of contents, by an awkward title, and by too much variety in the choice of type.

Prof. N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri, has prepared a syllabus of "The Background and Issues of the World War" for the use of instructors and students in the War Issues Course. The booklet contains 142 pages, and includes a brief list of references, twenty-five principal topics, which are carefully outlined, and ten pages of documents (Columbia, Mo., The Missouri Book Co.).

The Department of History and International Relations of Clark College (Worcester, Mass.), has prepared "A Preliminary Syllabus for a Study of the Issues of the Present War—Part I, Historical." The pamphlet of fifteen pages contains analyses of nine topics bearing upon the war, accompanied by references to collateral reading.

Mr. Otto H. Kahn has sent out in pamphlet form copies of several of his recent addresses; among which are included "The Menace of Paternalism," "Government Ownership of Railroads," and "War Taxation." Mr. Kahn holds that the proposed tax bill of the fall of 1918, "seems hardly explainable except on the theory that the intention of those who were primarily in charge of framing that program was punitive and corrective, and that they were influenced—though I am willing to believe unconsciously—by sectional and vocational partiality." Concerning the American railroad system, Mr. Kahn has the following summary: "It is, I am profoundly convinced, a far better system than government ownership of railroads, which, wherever tested, has proved its inferiority except, to an extent, in the Germany on which the Prussian Junker planted his heel, and which he made a scourge and a horrible example to the world; and the very reasons which have made state railways measurably successful in that Germany are the reasons which would make government ownership and operation in America, a menace to our free institutions, a detriment to our racial characteristics and a grave economic disservice."

#### LETTER TO MEN IN THE SERVICE.

General Order No. 105 issued November 14 reads: The signing of the military armistice enables us to suspend the intensive military preparation in which the country was engaged. It does not, however, signify the formal end of the war, and it will, therefore, be necessary for us to keep under arms a substantial army until we are certain just what the military needs of the country will be. The men in service in the United States will be demobilized as rapidly as is consistent with the need of the Government, and the War Department is working with the other agencies of the Government toward a rapid re-establishment of normal business conditions and the restoration of the soldiers to their homes and occupations. In the meantime, I desire to express to the officers and soldiers under arms in the United States the appreciation of the Department for their patriotic zeal and service. That they were not called upon to go abroad and not permitted to participate in the historic struggle in France leaves them none the less a part of the great army of our nation and entitled to the thanks of the nation for their readiness to serve. All officers and men can rely upon the sympathy and activity of the Department in their early return home. Both officers and men will realize that it is their duty to continue with the training and work, and to maintain in the highest degree the discipline and soldierly bearing which is the great glory of the Army, of which they are a part.

(Signed) NEWTON D. BAKER,  
Secretary of War.

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. *The North Carolina Manual, 1917.* Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co. Pp. 452.

The following quotation from the preface will sufficiently explain the nature and purpose of this biennial publication: "This volume is issued in order to furnish to the members of the General Assembly of 1917, in convenient form, information about the State which otherwise would require much investigating in many different sources. It is also hoped that it may prove of service to others who desire to have in succinct form such data about the State." The little book, doubtless representing careful and painstaking work, is neatly compiled and printed.

H. M. H.

OBERHOLTZER, ELLIS PAXSON. *A History of the United States Since the Civil War. Vol. I.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. viii, 556. \$3.50.

The period which this work when completed will cover, may be termed the United States of to-day. It saw the marvelous industrial development of the country; in it was completed the transcontinental railways and the settlement of some of the western states; the protective tariff system was built up at this time; the Democratic and Republican parties discarding theoretical questions regarding the constitution or abolition adapted themselves to the newer practical questions concerned in the country's commercial and financial life—these developments and others too numerous to mention combine to make this period interesting and instructive in the understanding of our present life.

The author has written but little on political reconstruction that has not already been the common property of the history student. It may be remarked that he does not improve the impression which most writers have given of President Johnson—and perhaps it does not deserve improvement. He writes at length of conditions in the South after 1865, but after reading his account we feel the need of a summary to get a picture of things as they were. Nowhere is there the slightest suggestion of bias, and the author's critical appraisal of men and measures leaves little to be said. Fascinating accounts are given of the Atlantic cable, the decline of the American merchant marine and the organization of the petroleum industry. Chapter IV contains a surprising array of general facts of interest covering nearly one hundred pages.

No preface, or bibliography beyond the footnotes, is included. These footnote citations are usually to original materials in the form of newspapers or government documents. At times the first sentence of a paragraph has a provoking way of driving the reader back to the last few sentences of a former paragraph to get the connection, a fault of style (if a fault) burdensome probably only to the hurried reader. Students and the general history reading public will await with interest the volumes yet to follow.

Emory and Henry College.

H. M. HENRY.

ABBOTT, GRACE. *The Immigrant and the Community.* New York: The Century Co., 1917. Pp. vi, 303. \$1.50.

Miss Abbott has made a worthy contribution to the literature upon social subjects. Her long experience in work-

ing with these people in various social agencies makes her eminently fitted to write upon this subject, and the reader is conscious that the author is writing from the rather novel viewpoint of one in entire sympathy with the foreigner.

To migrate from one's native land to a new country presents many problems to one who has never been away from home before. The journey is one of never-to-be-forgotten wonders and many dangers, especially to unaccompanied women. The dangers of this journey may be judged to begin with the admission to the United States, for with that the responsibility of the government ends, and the stranger in a strange land with no knowledge of the customs or the language of the country is left to find his place in the new society without help or aid from any except those who make it a business to take advantage of him. Instances are given of girls who have been en route to the interior to the home of some friend or relative who were never heard of after leaving the port of entry. The difficulties of the immigrant girl are many. All too many times her dreams of the wonderful future in store for her in the new land, born of youth and ambition, come to naught and end in disaster, for American society offers her little protection and often surrounds her with positive dangers. Miss Abbott describes many of these obstacles which confront the foreigner and with which he must battle often in vain.

The influence of the immigrant upon American society is difficult to determine. That the immigrant adds greatly to the amount of crime, available statistics do not prove, and such as we have are complicated by the fact that a different code of ethics is applied to him and that different legal procedure is accorded him from that of the native. Because of his ignorance of the American mode of life, and because we force him to live in the congested districts of our cities, he presents a health problem. The amount of poverty and pauperism contributed by the foreigner is uncertain, although the peculiar method by which we gather statistics makes it appear that his percentage is very high. The effect of the immigrant upon labor conditions is problematical. Most of the union labor antagonism toward him is due to a lack of understanding of him and his problems. Because of this our government has been forced into the inconsistent attitude of refusing admission to the immigrant who is without visible means of support, and of excluding him if he comes with promise of employment. We have not solved the problem of the education of the immigrant. The children are the interpreters of the new life and environment for the parents. Our schools have never seriously tried to adapt themselves to the needs of the foreign children, and they tend to increase the disrespect of the child for his parents by destroying the traditions around which their family life is built. Our schools should try to reach the adult as well, and provide a plan of education to his needs. Our schools have set up a standard of Americanism and try to fit the foreigner to it without regard to his individual needs.

To attribute all of our social and political difficulties to him is a popular explanation of our shortcomings with the result that we have only one thought—how may we get rid of the immigrant? Our race prejudice has allowed us to misunderstand the immigrant, and our lack of sympathy for him has made his task of fitting himself into a new and strange environment more difficult. Many of their habits and customs would be valuable contributions to our community life, but we have held ourselves aloof from them with a superior attitude, believing that nothing good could come out of them.

Miss Abbott does not suggest any new general program

for the solution of these questions. The immigrant does not present new problems that must be solved apart from the general problem of our life. It is merely a question of adjustment. To assist in such adjustments we must take account of those traditions and characteristics which belong to the immigrant by reason of his race, development, and of the peculiar difficulties which he encounters here. We must create a sympathetic attitude toward the immigrant, and extend governmental guardianship over him for his guidance and protection. WILLIAM H. HATHAWAY. Riverside High School, Milwaukee.

CHAPMAN, S. J. *Outlines of Political Economy*. (Third edition, revised and enlarged.) London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Pp. 463. \$1.75.

Professor Chapman frequently refers to his book as an elementary treatise on the subject of economics. He seems, however, to have fallen into the error, common with specialists, of assuming a considerable knowledge of the terminology of a rather technical subject on the part of the new student in this field. Many parts of the book are admirably clear in thought and simple in expression. Others require considerable understanding of economic ideas and terms to render them intelligible.

Another fault, from the viewpoint of the American reader, is that the book is written from an English point of view. All illustrations of principles, discussions of money, trade, rent, etc., are English rather than American. This is, of course, natural, since the book is published in England, written by an English author, and intended for use by the English, primarily. From the point of view of the teacher of economics, Professor Chapman's work might prove difficult to use because he frequently prefers to state general principles, assuming that their meaning will be clear to the reader, before he gives the explanation or definition necessary to make such understanding possible. As most teachers know, the ability of the average beginner in the field of economics to grasp abstract principles is exceedingly limited, and must be developed by the constant use of concrete examples, drawn, as largely as possible, from the students' own environment.

From the standpoint of the economist the book has many admirable features. For those who find them helpful there are many good diagrams showing the operation of economic principles. The book is entirely up to date in that the effects of the war in many instances are clearly shown. The following chapters are especially well thought out and clearly expressed: Nature of Production, Capital, Machinery and Division of Labor, Monopoly, Price, International Trade, Trade and Credit Cycles and Crises, The Incidence of Taxes. The last two chapters on the Development of Political Economy are also excellent.

As the author says in his preface, his "great indebtedness to Dr. Marshall" is apparent throughout the book. His admiration for this great economist is especially evident in the last chapter which is entitled, "From Adam Smith to the Present Time." It is certainly high praise to say "Marshall, for the first time, revealed the unity of the economic system, and presented it as a coherent whole of inter-related parts, functioning in mutual dependence upon one another."

The book as a whole is better suited to students with some previous knowledge of economics than to the beginner. It is much less useful to the American than books which deal more especially with the economic conditions and problems of our own country. WINTHROP TIBRELL. High School of Commerce, Boston, Mass.

COLLINS, EDWARD DAY. *A History of Vermont*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1916. Pp. vii, 350. 80 cents.

In this volume, which was designed by the author for a text-book to meet the legal requirements for instruction in the history of the state, we have an interesting sketch of the story of the youngest of the New England states. The reader is reminded that Vermont is to-day no older than was Massachusetts when the battle of Bennington was fought.

Lying between the settlements of the French and the English and between the colonies of New York and New Hampshire, and claimed by both, Vermont was long the "debatable" land. The first real settlements in the state were not made until the success of the English in the French and Indian War had removed the menace of the Indians.

The rival claims of New Hampshire and New York are carefully examined and the measures taken by the farmers to resist the jurisdiction of New York are well described. The hostility of the Green Mountain boys toward New York was so far misunderstood by Burgoyne that he counted on their support for his expedition. A convention of Vermonters had already declared the "New Hampshire grants to be a free and independent jurisdiction or state." The constitution was modeled after that of Pennsylvania.

For fourteen years, Vermont was an independent republic. Its admission into the Union as a state was prevented by the influence of New York until 1791, when Vermont paid \$30,000 in full settlement for all claims by the former state, and grants of land were given to John Jay and other prominent New Yorkers.

By the laws of the new state, each township was divided into 70 lots, of which one was set aside for the support of the college, one for a county grammar school, one for an English school, one for the support of preaching, and one for the first settled minister. The University of Vermont was incorporated in 1791, and Middlebury College in 1800.

The spirited story of the battle of Plattsburg in 1814 might better have followed than preceded the account of the smugglers of embargo days. The author seems disposed to excuse the lack of patriotism shown by so many residents of the state during the war of 1812. The volume contains many interesting pictures of famous men who were natives of the state and other illustrations of the life of the people.

From the tables in the appendix it appears that the population of the state has increased by only 41,000 since 1860, and that in three entire counties the population actually declined between the census of 1810 and that of 1900.

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN.

Phillips Andover Academy.

PARKMAN, MARY R. *Heroes of To-day*. New York: The Century Co., 1917. Pp. 326. \$1.35, net.

*Heroines of Service*. New York: The Century Co., 1917. Pp. 322. \$1.35, net.

The biographies of military heroes and of statesmen are found on our library shelves in abundance. The volumes now under review will be welcomed as additions to the somewhat smaller collection of books that tell the life stories of men and women equally worthy and often equally influential, though walking in less conspicuous ways. The heroes and heroines of social, educational, scientific, and religious activities deserve emphasis in this military era—double emphasis, perhaps, as a means of preparing young people for participation in the era of peace that we hope is to come.

The list of "Heroes of To-day" includes Burroughs,



Muir, Grenfell, Capt. Scott, Dr. Trudeau, Bishop Rowe, Riis, Rupert Brooke, Hoover, Langley, and Goethals. The "Heroines of Service" are Mary Lyon, Clara Barton, Frances Willard, Julia Ward Howe, Anna Shaw, Mary Antin, Jane Addams, Mary Slessor, Madame Curie, Alice C. Fletcher, and Alice Freeman Palmer.

The stories are told in language adapted to the boys and girls of grammar grade and high school age. The style has an attractive literary quality. Portraits and other illustrations are included in each volume.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

TARBELL, IDA M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. 2 vols. Pp. xxxvi (1) 496, (2) 475. \$5.00.

These volumes are a new edition of Miss Tarbell's well-known biography, the text of which is republished substantially without change. As students of the period will recall, it is primarily a study of Lincoln the man rather than a political narrative, and the general historical background is not very fully developed. But in her analysis of personality and character the author is peculiarly successful. Her portrait of Lincoln is that of a thoroughly likeable individual as well as a great statesman. The work is perhaps a bit too eulogistic in tone, a fact that may be due to the more extensive use of reminiscences than would be allowed by the law of the professional historian. Then, too, certain illuminating episodes are passed over in silence, possibly because they would not wholly harmonize with the note of perfection which is sounded so frequently. Miss Tarbell does not point out, for example, how Lincoln altered the tone of his debates with Douglas as he went from the anti-slavery to the pro-slavery sections of Illinois, nor how he made use of the patronage to achieve certain desired ends, notably in the case of the admission of Nevada. It is rather a nice matter to determine at exactly what point an error of omission which almost conveys a false impression becomes a sin of omission. But on the whole the book is reliable, and it is certainly readable and interesting.

A valuable feature of the second volume is the appendix, of nearly two hundred pages, consisting of miscellaneous letters and speeches not printed in Nicolay and Hay's "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln."

The new part of the work is to be found in a preface to the second edition, in which Miss Tarbell has summarized briefly the more recently published evidence regarding Lincoln, such as the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, and *Thayer's Life of John Hay*. She points out how Welles throws new light on Lincoln's methods of dealing with his subordinates, and in particular on his clever handling of the Cabinet intrigue against Seward in 1862. Her conclusion is that this new material leaves Lincoln substantially as he was; nothing has been brought forward which would necessitate any important change in the estimate of his character.

RALPH V. HARLOW.

Simmons College.

OGG, FREDERIC AUSTIN. *National Progress, 1907-1917*. (*The American Nation*, Vol. 27.) New York: Harper & Brothers, 1918. Pp. xxii, 430. \$2.00.

This volume, which brings the well-known *American Nation* as nearly as possible to date, is a comprehensive survey of the history of the United States since 1907. Professor Ogg has written clear and concise accounts of the

last three Presidential campaigns, with their issues, or lack of them, their leaders, and their peculiar characteristics, and he has emphasized the undercurrent of party disintegration which is such a conspicuous feature of recent political activity. In this connection, too, he has called attention to that struggle between special privilege and the nation at large, one result of which is the attempt to bring about a larger measure of popular government through direct primaries, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall.

Added interest attaches to the book because it is the first attempt, by a scholar of recognized standing, to write a history of the problems, policies, and achievements of the Wilson administration in both domestic and foreign affairs, including of course a narrative of the controversies over neutral rights which finally resulted in war. All this the writer has done with an objectivity and detachment that is truly remarkable; except in the case of the present war the reader would find it difficult indeed to determine even approximately what are Professor Ogg's own views regarding national policy. Even in handling the "Mexican Imbrolio," as he so aptly terms it, which affords such an alluring opportunity for comment of some sort, he sets forth the facts without deviating a hair's breadth from the path of absolutely impartial narrative.

But contemporary history at least is something more than "past politics," even in the broadest sense of that term, and in recognition of this wider interpretation Professor Ogg has included brief essays on such economic and social questions as the tariff, railroads and trusts, with the methods for their regulation, on conservation, currency, commerce, population, and labor. Here again he has kept strictly and disappointingly within the limits of impersonal exposition. It would be interesting to know, for example, what conclusions present themselves to a non-Socialist writer on the subjects of Socialism and the labor movement, and their bearing on democracy of the traditional American type. But these issues, to some a veritable Pandora's box, and to others the panacea for all ills now oppressing the body politic, are disposed of with a brevity and calmness that hardly reveals their significance.

The book suffers perhaps from what might be called too much dissection of the subject. The events, conditions, and policies of a decade are taken out and almost mechanically laid one by one before the reader, much as a biologist spreads out on his table the organs of a rabbit which he has taken apart for purposes of demonstration. No one would deny to this method certain advantages in point of logical order and clearness, so far as details go, and Professor Ogg's work is admirable in this respect. At the same time one is tempted to wish that instead of displaying quite so many component parts he had dwelt a little more fully on the general tendencies and trend of the period.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Simmons College.

CHERADAME, ANDRE. *The United States and Pangermania*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. Pp. xii, 170. \$1.00.

Andre Cheradame is noted as being an "Easterner," that is, one who believes in the importance of the so-called Eastern front rather than in the exclusive importance of the Western front. In fact, all his books have emphasized the necessity of winning the war in the Balkans and in Russia, particularly in the Balkans, and he repeatedly declares that it is possible to win the war in the West and lose it in the East. This latest book of his is a development really of that idea, a development of the Pan-German plan as de-

veloped before and during the war, whose progress we have seen in its growth on the war maps and whose importance we have gradually come to realize. On the whole, this book has several characteristics which make it useful for a high school library. Its brief and scholarly account of German ambitions from Berlin to Bagdad, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, its arrangement of material so that an easy transition may be made from the past to the present, from the North to the South, its readability also, all make it possible for the undeveloped mind to grasp points which we all need to know not only for the sake of understanding what should be our peace terms, but also why this war was inevitable and how we can make another war practically impossible. A very excellent system of sketch maps illustrates the text most satisfactorily. Errors may be found in detail, but they are of importance only to the advanced scholar and not to the elementary student. Its somewhat partisan character has the advantage of awakening its readers to the gravity of the situation which it portrays, while its brevity recommends it to those who have no time to read thoroughly such books on the Bagdad railway and the Near East as discuss the same or similar topics in more detail. Tufts College.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

MUIR, RAMSAY. *The Expansion of Europe, the Culmination of Modern History*. Second edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. xv, 300. \$2.00.

Some errors and some sharp comments on the attitude of the United States to the war have been eliminated from the first edition which appeared late in 1916, and some topics are more fully treated, especially the period, 1878-1900. The volume is the second of a trilogy: the first is the excellent "Nationalism and Internationalism;" the third is to be "National Self-Government." Despite occasional minor errors of fact and questionable generalizations, this survey of colonial history since the fifteenth century can be heartily recommended for the general reader and for supplementary class use. The style is that of the popular lecture, with the faults and merits of that form of discourse. Eight maps and an index commendably supplement the volume.

The severe strictures on German colonization and Pan-German schemes are convincing because of the absence of venom and abuse, and because of the unusually dispassionate tone. The passages dealing with the United States are the least satisfactory, and such paragraphs as those on pages 94-95 and 178-179 are strangely muddled and inaccurate. His comparative estimates of the respective contributions of England and the United States to the progress of liberty and self-government in the past one hundred and thirty years will hardly find acceptance with American readers, who certainly will not approve his treatment of the Monroe Doctrine and of the Venezuela affair in 1895. His repeated assertion that after 1898 the United States relapsed into its old attitude of aloofness challenges debate; and his assumption on page 240 that the United States held "a vague claim of suzerainty over the vast area of Central and South America" is most unfortunate. Is it fair to overlook several events between 1689 and 1763 by asserting on page 228 that the Australian contingent sent to the Soudan in 1885 was the first instance of a European colony sending men overseas to fight in common support of imperial interest?

Preponderant attention is rightly given to British colonization because of the long period covered, the vast areas con-

cerned, and the important issues and principles involved. India, Egypt, and South Africa, where British policy has been most censured, receive most complete treatment, which is substantially accurate and fair in its defense of British procedure. While admitting frankly the mistakes, he insists strongly upon the commendable achievements, though sometimes he lapses into an ill-advised or untenable defensive argument.

The author seems to have had ever before his mind Seeley's masterpiece on the "Expansion of England," but he has fallen far short of his distinguished exemplar both in historical mastery of his larger subject and in imaginative presentation of the more stirring problem.

Professor Muir contrasts the ideal of domination in colonial policy, exemplified by Germany and most powers in the past, with the ideal of trusteeship developed and increasingly practiced by England, especially since 1815. He holds that the chief contributions arising from the expansion of European or western civilization over the non-European world have been the establishment of the reign of law and of the ideal of justice, the diffusion of liberty, and the encouragement of self-government. He contemplates a future world organization based on world-states with unified national states as nuclei, dominating vast colonial groups of allied, dependent, or backward peoples. Trusteeship—a better word would be wardship—is the only safe basic principle for such an organization, and the only working model is the British empire with its allied self-governing dominions, its Indian and Egyptian peoples undergoing tutelage preparatory to self-government, and its colonies of primitive folk who must remain in wardship indefinitely. The forecast is of a solution through natural growth and the utilization of past experience as contrasted with the entirely theoretical scheme elaborated by Mr. Lippmann in his "Stakes of Diplomacy." Then, too, Mr. Lippmann's argument turns entirely upon the economic issue, but Professor Muir with greater wisdom insists on the human element as the vital one.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Wesleyan University.

LIVEING, EDWARD G. D. *Attack*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 114. 75 cents.

This is an account of an infantry subaltern's impressions as he went over the top in July, 1916, in one of the initial movements of the battle of the Somme. In very vivid fashion it describes the author's state of mind while in the early hours of the morning he awaited the signal for beginning the attack. Then follows an account of his headlong charge, soon terminated by a disabling wound, and of his experiences as he painfully sought to get back to his own line, which eventually he succeeded in doing. John Masefield writes an introduction for the narrative, praising it highly, indeed declaring that no better account of a modern battle has been written in England since the war began.

A "Syllabus of Medieval History with Topical References" has been prepared by Professor E. M. Violette, and appears as No. 9 in the history and government series of the "Bulletin of the First District Normal School, Kirksville, Missouri." Professor Violette has covered medieval history in forty lessons, under each of which is given a brief summary of the topic, together with references to prescribed reading and optional reading, topics for discussion and problem questions.

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AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Chapin, Howard M., compiler. A list of the Rhode Island soldiers and sailors in the old French and Indian war, 1755-1762. Providence, R. I.: R. I. Historical Society. 155 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Library of Congress. Check list of collections of personal papers in historical societies, university and public libraries, and other learned institutions in the United States. Wash., D. C.: Govt. Pr. Off. 87 pp. 50 cents.
- Pease, Zephaniah W., editor. History of New Bedford. 3 vols. N. Y.: Lewis Hist. Pub., 265 Broadway. \$21.00, net.
- Perry, Lawrence. Our navy in the war. N. Y.: Scribner. 279 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Scott, Jas. B., editor. The armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 698 pp. \$5.00, net.
- Scott, Jas. B., editor. The treaties of 1785, 1799, and 1829 between the United States and Prussia. N. Y.: Oxford University. 207 pp. \$2.00, net.
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- Virginia State Library. A bibliography of Virginia, Part II, containing the titles of the printed official documents of the commonwealth, 1776-1916. Richmond, Va.: The Library. 1404 pp. \$2.50.
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ENGLISH HISTORY.

- Lavell, Cecil F., and Payne, C. E. Imperial England. N. Y.: Macmillan. 395 pp. \$2.00, net.
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EUROPEAN HISTORY.

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- Harding, S. B., and Hart, A. B. New medieval and modern history. N. Y.: Am. Book Co. 783 pp. \$1.60.
- Russell, Charles E. Unchained Russia. N. Y.: Appleton. 323 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Tilley, Arthur A. The dawn of the French Renaissance. N. Y.: Putnam. 636 pp. \$8.25, net.
- Vizetelly, Ernest A. The true story of Alsace-Lorraine. N. Y.: Stokes. 311 pp. \$4.00, net.
- Ward, A. W., and Wilkinson, H. S. Germany, 1815-1890. Vol. 2, 1852-1871. N. Y.: Putnam. 588 pp. \$3.50, net.

THE GREAT WAR.

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- Hurd, Archibald S. The British fleet in the Great War. N. Y.: McBride. 250 pp. \$2.50, net.
- McCoy, Patrick T. Kiltie McCoy. [Narrative of three years on the front in France.] Indianapolis. 246 pp. \$1.50, net.
- McNutt, W. S. The Yanks are coming. [Description of our national cantonments.] Boston: Page Co. 267 pp. \$1.50, net.
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- Negulesco, Gogu. Rumania's sacrifice. N. Y.: Century Co. 265 pp. \$1.50.

- North Carolina University; Bureau of Extension. A syllabus for the war issues course on the historical and economic background of the war. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University. 31 pp. 10 cents.
- Red (A) triangle girl in France. N. Y.: Doran. 168 pp. \$1.00, net.
- Trounce, H. D. Fighting the Boche underground. N. Y.: Scribner. 234 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Wilson, Robert. The post of honour; stories of daring deeds done by men of the British empire in the Great War. N. Y.: Dutton. 159 pp. \$1.25, net.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Browne, E. Granville. The Persian constitutional movement. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 20 pp. 70 cents.
- Children (The) of France. A book of stories of the heroism and self-sacrifice of youthful patriots of France. Phila.: H. Altemus. 187 pp. 50 cents.
- Clarke, A. C. The descent of manuscripts. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 456 pp. \$11.20.
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BIOGRAPHY.

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- Dodd, Francis. Admirals of the British Navy [who have served in the present war]. N. Y.: Doran. 50 cents.
- Monckton-Jones, M. E. Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 360 pp. \$5.00.
- Pope-Hennessy, Una B. Madame Roland; a study in revolution. N. Y.: Dodd, Mead. 552 pp. (5¼ pp. bibls.). \$5.00, net.
- Wolf, Senior. The presidents I have known from 1860-1918. Wash., D. C.: B. S. Adams. 459 pp. \$2.50.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

- Clark, J. M., and others, editors. Readings in the economics of war. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago. 676 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Eddy, Sherwood. The right to fight. N. Y.: Assn. Press. 87 pp. 60 cents.
- Howe, J. B. The eve of election; facts and figures for voters. N. Y.: Macmillan. 283 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Krause, Karl L. What is the German native dying for? N. Y.: Boni and Liveright. 303 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Scott, James B., editor. Les conventions et déclarations de la Haye de 1899 et 1907, etc. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 318 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Scott, Jas. B. Une cour de justice internationale. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 269 pp. \$2.50, net.
- Wilkinson, H. Spenser. Government and the War. N. Y.: McBride. 268 pp. \$1.00, net.

"The Catholic Church has rich stores of sources in her archives always better preserved than those in the Protestant churches, and from these her historians can draw much information that is needed for the proper interpretation of America's past. The work possible for Catholic historians in the field of western history is extensive. The ultimate truth concerning the period of French discovery and settlement is still to be written in spite of the fact that the greatest genius in American historiography devoted his life to the subject. The greatest fact in the history of the United States, more tremendous by far than the Civil War, is the conquest of the great West during the nineteenth century. In this battle with the forces of the wilderness, Catholics have played a conspicuous part," says Clarence W. Abord in his "Sources of Catholic History in Illinois." (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for July.)



## The League of Nations

The following editorial article and suggested constitution for the League of Nations is taken from the *London Spectator* for October 26, 1918. In reprinting this material the editors of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK take no responsibility for the opinions expressed therein, but publish it as an interesting solution of the problem.

EDITOR, THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK.

It is no exaggeration to say that the fate of the civilized world and of all human progress hangs upon whether we take the right or the wrong path in dealing with the problem of the League of Nations. If we take the wrong one, and if once more the aspiration of organized peace ends in a fiasco, mankind will in despair abandon the hope of settling international disputes without recourse to arms, and the world must continue *toujours en vedette*, with an occasional thirty years' armistice for the peoples to rest and lick their wounds. Remember, the vision of peace by agreement and of the federation of nations has haunted the minds of men in one shape or another for countless centuries. Greek statesmen had these ideas at the end of the Persian War, during the whole of the great Peloponnesian contest, and after its conclusion, and though the cynics and the professors of *Realpolitik* smiled at their simplicity, thinkers and poets like Plato chose the larger hope. Once more the idea is in the ascendant, and minds and spirits are "finely touched" to these fine issues. Men of light and leading are wondering whether it may not be possible in a more enlightened and more democratic age actually to do what our progenitors could dream about but never accomplish.

The readers of the *Spectator* already know our view of all these hopes and fears. We most sincerely believe that if we are too idealistic, too hopeful, and attempt too much we shall achieve nothing. If, on the other hand, we are moderate, reasonable, and restrained, even in good deeds, in a word if we show ourselves Whigs rather than Bolsheviks, if we choose the apparently dull and toilsome *via media* rather than the glorious short cut, we may accomplish something of real benefit to mankind. If we do not banish war in name or in theory, we may make it so impossibly tedious for the ambitious demagogue or the cynical autocrat that he will not be able to lure the nation he deceives or compel the people he controls along the path of blood and iron.

Success or failure in this great venture must depend upon the prime object aimed at. We do not want, as we have explained before, to make the object of the League of Nations the abolition of war in the abstract, or the erection of some mixed Tribunal into whose hands men and nations shall entrust the dearest things which they possess—their liberties, their rights, and their independence. We do not want the object of the League of Nations to be the establish-

ment of some Committee or Collectivist form of the *Pax Romana* which will crush all national individuality, or will prove a kind of benignant upas-tree that will shelter everybody and yet shrivel while it shelters. We do not want the nations in their mood of humanity caused by the horrors they have witnessed and experienced, first to rush into the extreme belief that anything is better than war, and then to find that they were mistaken and revert to the old and hopeless regime of armed Peace. *What we ask them to do, and it is all we believe it is safe for them to do, is to pledge themselves severally and jointly to insist that solemn Treaties between nations shall not be treated as "scraps of paper," but shall be strictly and honestly observed.* We want to make contracts between nations, while they remain, the most solemn and essential things in the world—something a thousandfold more sacred than contracts between individuals, just as the interests of the nation are a thousandfold more sacred than those of the single individuals that compose it. But though the nations of the earth must agree to think no crime greater or more despicable than the illegal repudiation of a Treaty contract, whether made for some specific purpose or for general amity and good-will, we must recognize that the world of nations can never be put into a strait-waistcoat, that there must always be the capacity for free change and free development within the international circle. Above all, we must never forget that freedom is essential to human happiness, and, further, that freedom to do right must involve freedom to do wrong, and that it is never possible to give man the beneficial power to choose the one path without taking the risk of his choosing the other. Therefore Treaties which are not to prove veritable swaddling-clothes, and to turn the nations into mummies rather than free-limbed human organisms, can never be perpetual. They must be revocable and revocable within a time that will not make men despair of seeing what they will regard as an essential improvement. Thus, though Treaty contracts as long as they are in existence must be maintained by the whole weight and power of mankind, the nations which entered into them must be able to free themselves from their contractual bonds, if they deem it essential to their welfare to do so, without intolerable difficulty or delay.

We suggest that if mankind acting in unison shall be bound to uphold the sanctity of Treaties, a year's notice shall free any nation from its Diplomatic Instruments. Any recourse to arms before that year has expired, no matter what the alleged excuse, and no matter what the merits, must be dealt with with the utmost sternness. But it must not be dealt with by war, for that would mean some system of international armies and fleets and air squadrons, which, men being what they are, would open up a hopeless vista of intrigue. We must have recourse to non-

intercourse as the weapon by which the sanctity of Treaties is to be upheld. Again, though nations may voluntarily agree to have questions like boundaries and other matters decided by an Arbitration Court, there must be no compulsory arbitration, for nations, like men, must be allowed to say that there are certain things so dear to them—as, for example, a man's honor or his relations with his family—that they cannot wisely or helpfully be decided by submission to a Court of Law. To put the matter quite shortly, we believe that compulsory disarmament, compulsory arbitration, compulsory entry into an International Federation, can only lead first of all to disappointment, tyranny, and intrigue, and ultimately either to the loss of that national individuality which the peoples rightly cherish, or to the breaking up of the League as a hopeless failure. Instead of all these high-sounding aims, we desire to have the one clear obligation that nations must respect their Treaty pledges, and that the civilized Powers must as a matter of duty use all their strength, moral and physical, to maintain these agreements till they have been solemnly put an end to by an agreed procedure. As we have said before, we hold that one year's notice to abrogate a Treaty contract would be a convenient period. We hold, further, that in almost every case the necessity of giving a year's notice before the appeal to arms could take place would make it virtually impossible for nations to fight each other.

Remember that no nation which was restrained from fighting for one year would be able to say, as it might in the case of arbitration, that it must refuse to submit to the ruling of a Court of which the Judges could be alleged to be foolish, inhuman, prejudiced, bribed, or capable of acting as politicians rather than as jurists. By our plan we avoid all these apparently good excuses for war. We avoid also the danger of the Great Powers being judges in their own cause, or else of having to submit issues of supreme importance to the legal representatives of the smaller nations, as the only persons procurable who could be regarded as wholly impartial.

We fully realize that this plan for confining the League of Nations to what looks like a narrow issue will be a deep disappointment to many persons. They will think that it is not worth while, and that the wide world is being asked to make great sacrifices to attain very small results. For that reason we have attempted to make a rough draft of our proposals, in order to show, as it were by a working model, of what nature the League of Nations created on our basis would be and how it would enforce its decrees. That this draft of the Constitution of the League could be very greatly improved by expert draftsmen goes without saying, though it may interest our readers to know that we have made the basis for the Constitution of the League the extraordinarily able, far-seeing, and well-drawn document which, to the great credit of the English-speaking race, was produced by the independent American Colonies directly after they had freed themselves from the control of the British Parliament. The peoples of the Colonies not only be-

came independent, but each ex-Colony became an independent sovereign State, as independent in law as are any of the nations of Europe. They then, however, bound themselves in a League or Confederation inspired by very much the same ideas as are now inspiring the best hearts and brains throughout the civilized world.

While asking the nations to accept our plan, we are not, we must confess, hopeful of success. They are far more likely to "go snorting down the flowery meads" of Impracticable Idealism than to tread the dull little cinderpath of Common-Sense to which we invite them. Yet this prim pathway will give them seventy per cent. of what they desire, while the other will give them in the end nothing but old miseries remade. As Sir Thomas Brown warns us, nations are not governed by "Egotisms," and to say that the world, if it is wise, should do this or that, however true, is, alas! very little to the purpose.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

##### OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

*The object with which the League of Nations is formed is the preservation of the sanctity of Treaty Contracts made between Sovereign States. Members of the League are pledged to maintain amity between themselves, and the League, and its Members, jointly and severally, and are in covenant with each Member and the Members as a whole not to withdraw from the League, and not to put an end to any Treaty made outside the organization of the League with any Power, without giving one year's notice of their intention of withdrawal from the League or of the abrogation of a Treaty made with a Power not a Member of the League as aforesaid.*

*The League does not limit, or derogate from, the complete sovereignty of the States which compose it, except in respect of the Contract, explicit and implicit, of a year's notice of withdrawal from the League or from any other Treaty obligation whatsoever. Any appeal to arms before such notice has been given or before the year has expired shall be regarded as a violation of the principles and objects of the League, and shall be punished by the League and its Members jointly and severally by a Declaration of Non-Intercourse in the manner set forth in the Constitution of the League. Such Non-Intercourse shall be directed, supervised, and maintained by the General Council of the League, and failure by any Power concerned to enforce the Non-Intercourse Decree, or to observe the obligations and duties undertaken by Members of the League, shall in turn be visited by a Decree of Non-Intercourse with the Power guilty of contumacious action or neglect.*

##### CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE.

I. Only Sovereign States are entitled to be Members of the League, and each Member retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A large part of the Constitution of the League is closely modelled on the Articles of Confederation of the American States, 1777. The actual words are often adopted.

II. The Members hereby severally enter into a firm League of friendship with each other for the common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves, as long as they are Members of the League, to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon, them, or any of them, on account of sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

III. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the League, Delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each Member shall direct, to meet in Council on the first Monday in May of each year, with a power reserved to each Member to recall its Delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

IV. In determining questions considered by the Council of the League, each Ordinary Power shall have one vote. The Great Powers shall each have ten votes. A Great Power is a Power with a population of over thirty millions, or a State expressly declared to be a Great Power by the Council of the League.

V. No Member shall engage in any war without the consent of the Council of the League, unless such Member is actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation to invade such Member, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the Council of the League can be consulted.

VI. The Council of the League assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise, between two or more Powers, concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever—which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any Power in controversy with another shall present a petition to the League, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of the League to the legislative or executive authority of the other Power in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, Commissioners or Judges to constitute a Court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, the Council of the League shall name three persons out of each of the Powers, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine, names, as the Council shall direct, shall, in the presence of the Council, be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be Commissioners or Judges, to hear, and finally determine, the controversy, so always as a major part of the Judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend on the day appointed, without showing reasons which the Coun-

cil of the League shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Council shall proceed to nominate three persons from each Power, and the Secretary of the League shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the Court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such Court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the Court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to the League, and lodged among the acts of the League for the security of the parties concerned; provided that every Commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the Power where the cause shall be tried "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward."

VII. Every Member shall abide by the determinations of the Council of the League assembled on all questions which by this League are submitted to them. And the Articles of this League shall be inviolably observed by every Member; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in the Council of the League and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every Member.

VIII. The Council of the League shall sit throughout the year.

IX. If an armed conflict should arise between any two States which are members of the League, or between any State which is a Member of the League and some State outside the League, the Council of the League shall decide without appeal which Member was the aggressor in the said conflict, and shall in accordance with such decision direct the Members of the League as to which combatant is to be applied the Decree of Non-Intercourse. If war comes at the end of the year's notice required by the provisions of the League, the Council of the League shall decide whether to stop the war by a Decree of Non-Intercourse directed against both or one of the combatants, or, if it shall think fit, shall take no action. The decision is to be by a majority vote of the Council. In such a vote those Powers defined as "Great Powers" shall, if unanimous, be entitled to exercise a veto over the decisions of the Members of the League, in addition to the multiple vote accorded to them by Clause IV of this Constitution.

#### PROCEDURE TO BE TAKEN ON THE PASSING OF A DECREE OF NON-INTERCOURSE.

X. Any Power against which a Decree of Non-Intercourse is passed by the Council of the League shall be styled and regarded as an Outlawed Power.

XI. When a Power is outlawed, all trade and other intercourse is forbidden between the Members of the League and the Outlawed Power.



XII. No ship belonging to any Member of the League shall enter the ports of an Outlawed Power, and if at the time of the Declaration of Outlawry any ship is in an outlawed port she shall withdraw as soon as possible.

XIII. No ship belonging to an Outlawed Power is to be permitted to enter the ports of any Member of the League of Nations, and any ship in a port of Members of the League at the time of the issue of the Declaration shall be ordered to withdraw forthwith.

XIV. No railway train or vehicle of any sort, or aeroplane or airship, shall pass the frontiers of any Outlawed Power, and all railway trains, vehicles, aeroplanes, and airships belonging to any Power which is a Member of the League shall at once withdraw from the Outlawed State.

XV. Precautions shall be prescribed by the Council to prevent an indirect trade growing up through Neutral Countries, Members of the League and the Outlawed Power.

XVI. All nationals of any Outlawed Power or Powers shall leave the territories of Members of the League on the Declaration of Non-Intercourse.

XVII. All nationals of Members of the League living in an Outlawed State shall return at once under penalty of forfeiture of their possessions and of denationalization.

XVIII. All property of citizens of Outlawed Powers within the jurisdiction of any Member of the

League shall be confiscated simultaneously with the Declaration of Outlawry and without further notice.

XIX. Damages and losses to nationals and Members of the League owing to a Declaration of Non-Intercourse shall be made good in full.

XX. The Outlawry of any State breaking the essential Covenant of the League shall last after the cessation of hostilities on the principle of one year of additional Outlawry for every three months of beligerency.

XXI. Re-entry into the League shall only be permitted by leave of the Council on the special conditions to be laid down by the said Council.

#### IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE ALLIES.

The present Allies constitute themselves a League of Nations as above. They make the following declaration as to the conditions upon which the Central Powers, now in a state of hostility to the Allies or who have been in such state of hostility since 1914, shall be allowed to join the League:

[Here follow conditions drawn up by the Council of the League, under which present enemy States shall be allowed to purge their crimes and enter the League.]

Powers which were Neutral during the Great War to be admitted to the League on the following conditions:

[Here follow conditions to be laid down by the Council of the League.]

## WAR REPRINTS

The monthly War Supplements to THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK are being reprinted in inexpensive form immediately after their appearance.

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